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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT IN 1894-95 AND THE SITUATION IN INDIA. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.; LL.D.; D.C.L.; M.P. 1

THE PROTEST OF THE MADRAS LANDOWNERS. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. 8

THE NATIVE PRESS OF INDIA. By An Anglo-Indian . . . 16

THE FUTURE OF CHITRÁL AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES (WITH MAPS AND PORTRAIT OF H.H. THE LATE NIZÁM-UL-MULK). By G. W. Leitner, Ph.D.; LL.D.; D.O.L. 29

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION. By Hormuzd Rassam . . . 49

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT. By Abdullah Ash-Shámi 58

BRITISH EAST AFRICA. By Anglo-African 65

THE TRANSVAAL, THE SWAZIS AND THE WAR WITH MAKATO. By A. G. C. Van Duyl 71

NEW ZEALAND. By the Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G. . . 86

THE YIH-KING (THE CHINESE BOOK OF DIVINATION).—II. By the Right Rev. Monseigneur Prof. C. de Harlez, D.D. . . 107

BUDDHIST ONTOLOGY AND NIRVÁNA. By Babu Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E. 123

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST: "The Jaina-Sutras. Part II." By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.). "Sacred Laws of the Árvas. Part I. Ápastamba and Gautama." By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.). 127, 423

SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN AND THE INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY, with opinions on the same subject by General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I.; General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B.; Col. G. B. Malleson, C.S.I.; and Anglo-Indian. By T. H. Thornton, C.S.I.; D.C.L. 131

TRANSCASPIA AND KHURASAN. By Capt. Geo. V. Tarnovski . 148

TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN SIAM AND THE SIAMESE LAW OF ORDEALS. II. By Capt. G. E. Gerini (Royal Siamese Service) . . . 156

THE OFFICIAL PRAYER OF ISLAM AND ITS LIBELLERS. By Dr. G. W. Leitner 176

THE SHAHZADA'S VISIT AND THE WOKING MOSQUE, with remarks by Sir Lepel Griffin; Sir Nevile Chamberlain and General A. R. E. Hutchinson. By the Editor 180

THE INDIAN MONETARY PROBLEM. By Lesley C. Probyn, B.C.S. (ret.), late Accountant-General, Madras 241

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT. By J. D. Rees, M.C.S., C.I.E. . . 253

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING OUR POSITION IN INDIA.—I. By R. Carstairs, B.C.S. 268

NEW DANGERS AND FRESH WRONGS: I. THE CHITRÁL BLUE-BOOK AND KAFIRISTÁN (WITH ILLUSTRATIONS). II. SUPPRESSED TREATIES AND AN IGNORED PROCLAMATION. By Dr. G. W. Leitner 288

THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES OF INDIA AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. (A LECTURE) 312

WITH OPINIONS BY—

C. L. Tupper, B.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Panjab Government. (A reply) 322

W. Lee-Warner, C.S.I., Resident of Mysore. (A letter) . . 327

J. D. Rees, C.I.E. "Native Rule and British Empire" . . 328

The Right Honourable Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I. (A letter) . 330

The Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I. (A letter) . 332

PAGE

The Maharaja Sir Narendra Krishna, K.C.I.E. (Reflections) . 332
L. B. Bowring, C.S.I. "Native Princes" 334
B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E. "Native Chiefs" 338
W. Irvine, B.C.S. "Objections to an Imperial Council" . . 340
Dr. G. W. Leitner. "The East India Association and Indian Princes" 344
FRENCH PROGRESS IN THE WESTERN SOUDAN: 1894-95 (WITH MAPS). By Capt. S Pasfield Oliver 347
NEWFOUNDLAND AND FRENCH FISHERY RIGHTS. By J. P. Val D'Eremao, D.D. 376
PHŒNICIAN COLONIZATION IN SCANDINAVIA. By the Rev. Prof. C. W. Skarstedt, D.D. 400
TRISHTUP IN THE GATHA. By the Rev. L. H. Mills, D.D. . . 418
BONKU OR BOMMATSURI,—THE JAPANESE FESTIVAL IN HONOUR OF THE DEAD. By Mrs. C. M. Salwey, M.J.S. . . . 428
ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF BADAKHSHÁN, ETC. By the Editor 434
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION 186, 446
CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, NEWS, ETC. 194, 455
Central Asian News, by our own Correspondent.—"The late Persian Shiah Pontiff," by General A. Houtum Schindler The Raja of Bhinga and Indian Muhammadans. -Theosophy, by Dr. A. Pfungst. -A Franco-Muhammadan Empire in Africa. Our Frontier Policy, by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Lord Chelmsford; General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast.—Dr. T. H. Thornton's Lecture and Book on Sir Robert Sandeman. -The Persian Crown Prince.—Dr. Waddell's Tibetan Lamaism, by J. Edkins. -The Queen of Corea on the Queen of England.—Corean Revenue.—Chinese Loans.—The Bonaparte Library -Archæology in India.—Interference with Native States, by Ex Political, etc. . 194—210
Central Asian Correspondence.—News from Persia. -Dwarfs in the Pyrenees and the Atlas, by R. G. Haliburton, Q.C.—Dwarf Races, by D. MacRitchie.—The late Prime Minister of Patiala.—The Memorial Tablet of the late Sultan of Johore.—Muhammadan Burial at Brookwood.—The Japan Industrial Campaign.—The Treaties of African Chiefs.—The British Association.—A Letter from a Sanûsi Leader.—The Last Geographical Congress.—The Truth about Egypt, by Cairopolitan. -The Armenian Question, by Khalil Khalid.—An Anthropological Survey in Malabar, by F. Fawcett . 455—473
REVIEWS AND NOTICES 211, 474
Lives of Indian Officers, 3 vols. -The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Marlogh, A.D. 485 519, by E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt. D., F.S.A. —The Year Book of Australia for 1895, by the Hon. E. Grenville. —Chulakantamangala, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam, by Captain G. E. Gerini.—A Japanese Marriage, by D. Sladen. Our Lord's Teaching, by the Rev. James Robertson, D.D. —Among the Gods, by Augusta Klein.—Sport in the Pamirs and Turkestan Steppes, by Major C. S. Cumberland.—The Amir Abdur-Rahman, by Stephen Wheeler, F.R.G.S.—Lists of British Enactments in force in Native States, by J. M. Macpherson.—The Story of Africa and its Explorers, by D. R. Brown. A Ride to Khiva, by Fred Burnaby.—China, Present and Past, by R. S. Gundry.—Lexicon Syriacum, auctore Carolo Brockelmann.—Can Russia Invade India? by Col. H. B. Hanna, B.S.C. (retired).—Special war map of the N.W. Frontier of India, showing British operations in Chitral.—The People and Policy of the Far East, by Henry Norman.—Vedic India, by Zenaide A. Ragozin.—A Standard Dictionary of the English Language, vol. ii.—M to Z.—The India Office List.—The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk, by F. D. Greene, M.A.—Ten Years in Manchuria, by Dugald Christie, L.R.C.P.—Britain and her Rivals in the 18th Century, by A. D. Innes, M.A.—Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London; Vol. II.—Map to illustrate the Chitrál Expedition in North-west India.—The Opium Habit in the East, by Joshua Rowntree.—Ernest England, a Drama for the Closet, by J. A. Parker.—Les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans le Pays d'Occident, par I. Tsing, traduit en Français par Edouard Chouannes.—Chips from a German Workshop, by F. Max Müller, K.M.; New Edition, Vol. III.—Tarikh-ar-Rashidi of

PAGE

Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, translated by E. D. Ross, and edited by Ney Elias.—Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, by Archibald Forbes.—Sir Samuel Baker, a Memoir, by J. Douglas Murray and A. Silva White.—The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada, by G. R. Parkins, M.A.—The Secret History of the Court of Berlin, by Count Mirabeau; 2 vols.—The Private Memoirs of Louis XV., from the memoirs of Madame du Hausset.—The Secret Memoirs of the Royal Family of France, by a Lady of Rank; 2 vols.—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, April, 1895.—Notes of a Journey on the Upper Mekong, Siam, by H. Warrington Smyth.—The Religion of the Crescent, by the Rev. W. St. Clair-Tisdall, M.A.—Nitidasáprabandhi, by Radhakrishna Sastriar.—Zoraida: a romance of the Harem and the great Sahara, by William le Queux.—Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, to July, 1893 . . . . . 211—232

Report of the Census of Travancore (1891), by V. Nagam Aiya, B.A.; 2 vols.—The Mogul Architecture of Fathpur Sikri, by E. W. Smith.—History of the Bengal Artillery, by F. W. Stubbs; Vol. III.—Li Hungchang, by Prof. R. K. Douglas.—The History of the Australasian Colonies, by Edward Jenks, M.A.—The Cities and Bishopries of Phrygia, by W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Vol. I.—The Lycos Valley and South-western Phrygia.—A Practical Hindustani Grammar, Parts I and II., by Colonel A. O. Green, R.E.—The Old Missionary, by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I.—Memories of seven Campaigns, by J. H. Thornton, Esq., C.B., M.B.—India's Scientific Frontier, Where is it, What is it? by Col. H. B. Hanna.—The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times, by J. F. Hewitt; Vol. II.—An Australian in China, by G. E. Morrison, M.B., F.R.G.S.—Kaffir Stories, by W. C. Scully.—Told on the Pagoda.—Persia, by S. G. W. Benjamin.—Chinese Characteristics, by Arthur H. Smith.—Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, by T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.—The Secret History of the Court and Cabinet of St. Cloud; 2 vols.—The Model Republic, a History of the Rise and Progress of the Swiss People, by F. Grenfell Baker.—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1895.—The Exploration of Australia, by A. F. Calvert, F.R.G.S.—Rambles in Japan, by H. B. Tristram, D.D.—The Confucian Analects, translated with Notes and an Introduction, by W. Jennings, M.A.—Nigamagam Patrika.—The Money of India, by Carolus.—Reminiscences of Agra, by F. Fanthome.—Stolen Souls, by W. le Queux.—Obzor Zakaspiskoi Oblasti za 1893, god Askhabad.—The Modern Egyptian Dialect of Arabic, from the German of Dr. K. Vollers, by F. C. Burkitt, M.A. . . . . 474—492

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES . 234, 493

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INDIA IN PARLIAMENT IN 1894-95 AND THE SITUATION IN INDIA.*

By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., D.C.L., M.P.,
President of the East India Association.

There have been two important debates on India, this Session: one on the Cotton duties and the other on the Anti-Opium agitation. To my regret, I was unable to vote for the retention of the Cotton duties and with regard to that question I must make a personal explanation. When I was in India, as Finance Minister, I recommended that these duties should be gradually abolished, and when I came back from India in 1880, I held the same opinion and addressed a meeting at Manchester in 1881 advocating their abolition. This speech was printed by the Chamber of Commerce and distributed all over the country, and what I felt was that it would not do to say one thing in 1881 and vote another in 1895. Of course it might be replied that the circumstances are changed, but in my opinion there is nothing so fatal in political life as any change of opinion or alteration of views; one must consider very carefully before making up one's mind, but once having done so, one should stick to it. That is my John Bull view; therefore I felt obliged to act as I did. I do not think the situation is quite happy as regards these Cotton duties, for

* Being a shorthand report of an Address delivered by Sir Richard Temple to the East India Association at its recent annual meeting, the account of the "Proceedings" of which will be found elsewhere in this Review.—Ed.

there will be a very serious agitation in Lancashire at the next General Election; and there is no knowing what the pressure may be upon the Government of the day; and therefore I wish humbly and respectfully to warn all persons connected with India to set their fiscal house in order, because to have a whole county like Lancashire united in agitation is a very grave matter.

As regards the Anti-Opium agitation, I think India is to be congratulated. I believe that its supporters, faddists and bigots as they are, are conscientious in their views. Of course when certain things come to be fanatically agitated, there will always be some persons who will advocate them for ulterior motives, but to the greater number of these people, misguided as they are, I give credit for sincerity. They got the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the matter and they were satisfied with its constitution, but when they found that the report was not in accordance with their views, they loudly denounced the Commission, and the conclusion we draw from their conduct is that they will accept no decision which is not in accordance with their own ideas. They denounced the members of the Royal Commission in a way which has never been witnessed before, and Mr. Fowler rightly said in the House of Commons that men of rank and position will not serve on Royal Commissions in future if their reports are to be treated as the Anti-Opium agitators wished the House of Commons to treat this report. However, I think the Anti-Opium party have got their quietus for this generation at least. No doubt, the Commission has said no more than many of us have said for the last 20 years, but it is one thing to have a thing stated from one's place in Parliament and another thing altogether to have these views re-affirmed by a Royal Commission. The division in the House of Commons covered the agitators with ridicule. Their intention we believed was to run away from their own amendment and talk it out, but we were determined that they should not do this; so we forced them to a division by

means of the closure. They only got 59 to support them and every man who could be whipped up was there; 59 out of 670 members is not a serious minority.

I am, as is well known, no supporter of the present Government, but I am bound to report that upon these two great occasions the Government have behaved most loyally and resolutely. With regard to the Cotton Duties, they had made up their minds to the worst and were prepared to resign if they were defeated by a combination of parties. On that occasion they had to offend a great number of their own supporters, but they were quite ready to face that opposition rather than do what they believed to be an act of injustice to India. The Conservative Government, when it comes into power, will I hope do equally well, and they have not the same temptation to go astray in this respect.

Next, I have to think of what India was when I first became the President of the East India Association. I am better acquainted with India as it was then, than I am with what India is now, and that is my reason for resigning as the Association ought to have a President who is up to date with India of the present day.

The MATERIAL development of India is going on very much in the old way. Everyone talks about it, but no one advances the money without a State guarantee. The only chance of development in India is to raise money there. I see no essential change in this branch of the national work. We are going on in the old way gradually improving.

Now with regard to the MILITARY developments. We have a frontier with Russia which we had not then and we are likely soon to have a frontier with France. In this last-named matter I utter a solemn warning. I think that the present Government have behaved very badly in regard to Siam and are allowing France to spoliate and terrorise Siam. I think the conduct of the present Government cannot be too strongly condemned in this respect. If such had been the conduct of British Governments in the past, there would

have been no British Empire. If we are prepared to deal with things in the old way, we must be prepared to stand up to France, for she means mischief and we must be prepared for fighting if necessary. She has no commercial advantages to contend for, as she exports nothing to these countries save officials. The commercial interests are ours and we must be ready to fight for them if necessary. I consider that we have even more to fear from France than from Russia, for I do not believe that Russia is actively hostile. We must be resolute and let France know that we will not hesitate to go to war with her in defence of our interests if necessary, but I do not believe that the French want a war with England; they are too wise to incur such a risk unless for very material interests—which interests they do not really possess in these regions.

With regard to the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, it has now grown out of its infancy into a very vigorous youth. These men are the products of our system, of our civilization, and of our education. I pronounce no opinion on their loyalty. Assuming it, what is the outcome of their proposals and policy? It is twofold; first to drive all European civil employés out of the country and get them superseded by Natives. The advancement of the Natives is in itself a laudable ambition, but if a day of trial arises, we cannot govern India without Europeans. Even in famine relief, millions of people have been saved from death by starvation who would never have been saved but for the Europeans. Their retention is even more important when we come to political trouble, when we have to fight for our Empire. Just imagine having no magistrates in a district except Natives. When it comes to fighting, no one but an Englishman or a European is sufficient for our purpose. Now the one thing that the Congress desires is to get rid of Europeans at the head of districts. People talk as if we could govern India by Natives alone, but in the day of stress and storm we must have Europeans in command, whether in peace or war or in any political crisis whatever.

The financial policy of the Congress party is equally mistaken. They complain of the military expenditure. They swell the amount of the military estimates until one thinks the burden is more than can be borne by India. They are wise enough to know that it is impossible to stand up to France and Russia in combination without a powerful army and extensive fortifications. They do not complain of the army but of the expenditure. The question is who is to pay? I wish they were present to hear me so that I might say it to their faces. They hold that England must pay, as England derives great advantages from India by trade. Now if England is to pay, one has to think of the British taxpayer. I, therefore, ask all who are acquainted as we ought to be with our countrymen, is it a safe doctrine to preach in England that, if England is to hold India, she must dip her hand deeply into her pocket? This is a very serious question, yet that is the issue to which the Congress is driving, but that it will fail, I have no doubt.

Such then is their policy. First they aim at the substitution of Natives for Europeans in responsible places and next at placing a large portion of the military expenditure on the shoulders of the British taxpayer. I think it should be the practice of my successor to try and expose the aims of the Congress. Some of their aims are desirable, no doubt, and I would by no means oppose them all round; but when we see their tendency is, in at least two respects, perilous to the best interests of the Empire we are bound to oppose them.

One more point. I think India will be liable to a dangerous industrial competition on the part of China and Japan—Japan particularly. Things must take their course, but this rivalry which is springing up will become critically dangerous to the industries of Bombay and Calcutta.

I do not underrate the extreme gravity of the subjects which I have mentioned, but I have great confidence in the finances of India. I am no bimetallist, but I hold the Govt. of India were justified in closing the mints, for public

opinion demanded it. The Anglo-Indian world had made up its mind that this expedient should be tried, but I do not think it has done all the good that was expected from it. Yet I do not consider that the then Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, is to be blamed, for he was bound to do it as public opinion demanded it in such a manner that he had no option. The rupee would probably have gone still lower but for that action. It is a matter of opinion, but, as already stated, I have confidence in the finances of India. Her revenue is steadily increasing in those branches which depend on the prosperity of the people. I think the military expenditure is absolutely necessary, but if the worst comes to the worst, the Govt. of India will have to suspend some portion of the civil expenditure. They would not be able to spend so much on moral and material progress. They must keep their expenditure within their means, but their means are considerable and I believe they can do it and yet conduct the Government fairly well. It is not sure that the low price of the rupee is not benefiting the commercial industries of India, and so leading to increased revenue to balance the loss by exchange.

I have confidence in the people in the main ; although they say there is disloyalty springing up. I doubt it. There is probably more active loyalty now in India than when I first knew the country. When we had competitors in India we were popular because the Natives compared us with those who might take our place. When all imperial competitors disappeared then the Natives thought of us alone and began to carp and cavil. But now the advance of France and Russia has, I think, brought back popularity to us. The Natives have to consider, if anything happened to us, who would take our place ? Perhaps France, perhaps Russia ; and then they prefer the English ills they know rather than fly to French or Russian ills they know not of. So I think there is a revival of popularity for us in India ; the nearer our enemies approach, the more popular we shall become. But at the same time all this rests upon the im-

pression of our absolute power to stand up to and defeat all our enemies. If any doubt was to arise of our power to fight and overcome any possible combination, our popularity would be gone. Let the Indians come to England and see our fleets and armies, our arsenals and manufactories, and above all the activity of our teeming population—let them contemplate the moving masses of people in the streets of the Metropolis and reflect on what would be the bearing of these people if they had to fight for their hearths, their homes, their Empire. Then they will have no doubt of our absolute superiority over all possible competitors.

THE NEW TAXATION ON THE LAND IN THE PERMANENTLY-SETTLED DISTRICTS OF MADRAS.

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

An indignant Memorial has been submitted to the Secretary of State by the Madras Landholders' Association, protesting against the imposition of the Village Service Cess, as new taxation on permanently-settled lands, in violation of the Permanent Settlement; and denouncing the Village Service Act as an insidious attempt to divert and seduce the legitimate allegiance of the village servants from their recognised masters in defiance of the wishes of both. Just ten years ago, the Secretary of State peremptorily vetoed a precisely similar Bill that had been engineered for Bengal by Sir A. P. (then Mr.) MacDonnell. That Bill was called the *Patwari* Bill; and it proposed to do for the Bengal *Patwaris* exactly that which is now proposed for the same village servants (in Madras called *Karnams*) by the Village Service Bill. Under a changed name, the Government coolly proposes, on the same grounds, with the same assumption of philanthropic motives, to impose on districts where the land-tenure is practically identical with that ruling in Bengal, those oppressive and burdensome arrangements which were promptly vetoed by the Secretary of State when proposed for Bengal. On the plea of the need of creating an agency for the collection of statistics, and for police and other local administrative purposes, the Act unblushingly transfers the services of the village servants in proprietary estates from the control of the proprietor to that of the Government; and then, as if to add insult to injury, it imposes a Village Service Cess (at the rate of ten *Pies* to every *Rupee* of rent) on all occupied lands within the proprietary estate. This Cess is to be recoverable under the same inexorable Sale law as the ordinary revenue-demand on the land,—that terrible law which, as Mr. A. Rogers (late of the Bombay Civil Service and one

of the most experienced Settlement officers now living) informed the East India Association the other day, is causing the selling-up of the land of Madras at a fearful rate.

Against this proposal, the Madras Landholders' Association is now protesting. I believe it is admitted that they are supported in their protest, not only by practically the whole agricultural community of the Madras Presidency,—*ryots* and village-servants as well as landholders,—not only by the *Hindu* newspaper and the educated Native community at large - but also by an overwhelming majority of our most experienced District officers. The Government Resolution itself (No. 1024 of the 18th December, 1888, quoted at pp. 4, 5, 6, of the "Enclosures annexed to the Appeal-Memorial of the Madras Landholders' Association") clearly admits this most damaging fact; for it states—

"Most of the Collectors who reported in 1874-75 on the question were opposed to the measure."

It seems incredible, in any case, that the Secretary of State should approve of the imposition of those burdens on the agriculturists of the proprietary estates of Madras, which his predecessors have absolutely vetoed in the precisely analogous case of the agriculturists of Bengal. Mr. Fowler, in his Budget speech last year, made special reference to his sympathy with the Madras agricultural community; and he congratulated the House of Commons on the statement—which seems to be of somewhat dubious accuracy—that the results of our administration of the land in that Presidency have been more favourable to the agricultural interest than the similar results of Native administration in the neighbouring state of Mysore. After that speech, there ought to be little doubt of what the decision of the Secretary of State is likely to be. Moreover, it is well known that the present head of the Government of Madras is a nobleman of wide and generous sympathies, who personally is not at all likely to insist, except under circumstances of dire necessity, on forcing through a measure so generally distasteful to his people as the Landholders' Association have shown this Village

Service Bill to be. So that altogether, there is every ground for hope that the full, temperate, and earnest representation of the case in all its bearings, as now submitted to the Secretary of State by the Landholders' Association, will not fail to attain the desired end.

The practical unanimity of the Native community of Madras in opposition to this Bill seems, in my humble judgment, to be in itself the most important factor in the question. I have always strongly urged, in regard to similar proceedings in Bengal, that, since the recent reforms in the constitution of the local Legislative Councils effected by Lord Cross's Act, Government is bound to remit to the free and unfettered consideration of those Councils all such measures of purely domestic concern. When I voted in the House of Commons for Lord Cross's Act, I did so in the full belief—which I know was shared by those who introduced the Act—that it was intended to be a real and *bonâ fide* attempt to obtain for our local legislation the inestimable advantage of local knowledge and local sanction. As far as Government may deem it compatible with Imperial interests, the ancient institution of a mechanical official majority voting according to order should now be dispensed with as obsolete, and not in keeping with Lord Cross's reforms. By such a majority the Village Service Bill was passed in the Madras Council; but I suppose no one doubts that its fate would have been altogether different, if every member of the Council felt himself not merely free, but actually bound, to vote upon it according to his conscience.

But beyond this, the Memorial of the Landholders' Association shows conclusively that the arguments in support of the imposition of these new burdens on the agricultural community are altogether faulty. And it is quite clear that the real "inwardness" of the measure, and the uses to which it will ultimately be put if the Secretary of State can be induced to pass it, have never been fairly put before the public—I doubt very much whether they have ever been fairly put before either Lord Wenlock or Lord Elgin.

I will take the latter point first. The experience of Bengal teaches us the use to which this Village Service Act will ultimately be applied. It will provide the Government with a gigantic organization—kept up, *bien entendu*, at the expense of those against whom it is to be used—ramifying throughout the length and breadth of the land, having its spies in every village and almost in every family, to carry out all those "minute local scrutinies" that were specially and by name forbidden by the Permanent Settlement—those "Behar Cadastral Surveys," such as that which is driving frantic the quiet and peaceful agricultural population of Behar,—those "inquisitorial pryings into their private affairs" that Lord Lansdowne warned us would, if persisted in, inevitably alienate from us the affections of the people of India.

That was, almost avowedly, the object of the *Patwari* Bill, vetoed in 1885. The lack of such a far-reaching organization has been the one difficulty, the one obstacle, that has been the subject of the incessant groans of those officials whose ardent desire it is to humble the pride of the Bengal *zemindars*, and to sweep their wealth into the public treasury for the support of new Departments of the State. Indeed, Sir Antony MacDonnell went so far as to threaten the *zemindars* of Bengal, in section 67 of his famous *Minute* of the 30th September, 1893, that if they successfully resisted his Land Records Bill—as I am glad to see they have done, for the Secretary of State has refused to allow it even to be introduced in the form originally proposed—he had devised a means by which, in spite of the Secretary of State, he would possibly inflict on them the *Patwari* Bill in a slightly altered form. Here are his words, which for imperiousness it will be difficult to beat :—

"If the *zemindars* unsay what they have said, and the Land Records Bill fail to become law, then they should remember that the Government can fall back on Regulation XII. of 1817, and enforce the registration of *Patwaris*, their payment in such mode as the Board of Revenue directs, *and the maintenance of the Record-of-Rights through them.*"

Here, then, we have, in the words of the great originator of all these measures, the real meaning of the Proprietary

Estates Village Service Act, and of the Village Service Cess of ten *Pies* in the *Rupee* of rent. Sir Antony's wrath forced him to let the cat out of the bag in Bengal; and the Secretary of State has treated that cat as the orator did the rat in the old example of a mixed metaphor—he has nipped it in the bud, by strangling Sir Antony's unborn Bill or ever it was fully drafted. Sir Antony has not—at least so far as the public knows—been guilty of the same indiscretion in regard to the Madras Village Service Bill. But it is to be hoped that its practical identity with the Bengal proposals will not escape Mr. Fowler's observation; and then I trust he will draw his own conclusions.

The case for the old *Patwari* Bill, vetoed in 1885,—the case for the imposition of seven-sixteenths of the cost of the iniquitous Behar Cadastral Survey on the Behar land-holders (in addition to the five-sixteenths imposed on the *ryots*),—and the case for the Madras Village Service Bill —all depend on false evidence. In all three cases, the official reason given to justify the imposition of the cost of these measures on the landlords of Bengal, of Behar, and of the Madras Proprietary estates, respectively, is the allegation that under the Permanent Settlement, the *patwari* (called in Madras the *karnam*) was constituted a *servant of the Government*. It is argued that, the agreement under the Permanent Settlement being that the land-owners should provide the funds for the payment of these *public* servants,—and the land-owners having fraudulently evaded this obligation by using the *patwaris* or *karnams* as their own private servants,—it is quite just that the Government should now enforce this obligation. And Sir A. P. MacDonnell, in his great *Minute* on the Behar Cadastral Survey, goes even further than this. He declares that the Behar land-owners may fairly be made to disgorge these illicit gains, by being forced to pay a large share of the costs of the Survey. He repeats this, either in so many words, or by a clever and plausible implication, a dozen times in the course of the ponderous *Minute*. This is how he puts it in § 18:—

"The *zemindars* were bound by sec. 62, Regulation VIII. of 1793 to maintain a *patwari* in every village, *who was to be a Government servant;* but in this too they neglected their obligations, and gradually converted the *patwari* into their own private servant."

I am sorry to say that Sir Antony omits to inform the public that the all-important words I have italicised in this quotation—the only words that give any ground whatever for the argument he and others, following him, have based upon them, and that are now made the ground for the imposition of enormous burdens on the landholders of Behar and Madras are (I confess it seems incredible) actually an interpolation of his own! And even in § 66, where he quotes the very words of the Regulation—of course containing nothing whatever about the *patwari* being a "Government servant"—he reiterates, and even attempts to justify, this extraordinary statement thus:

"The words of the law are these: 'Every proprietor of land who may not have established a *patwari* in every village in his or her estate to keep the accounts of the *raiyats*, as required by the original rules for the decennial settlement of the three provinces [*i.e.*, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa] shall immediately appoint a *patwari* in each village for that purpose.' I invite particular attention to the words 'to keep the accounts of the *raiyats*.' The *patwari* was under the Regulation to be, not the *zemindar's* servant, but the custodian of the *raiyat's* interests as against the encroachments of the *zemindar*, which was indeed his true position and function from immemorial times."

Now, it is clear that the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (now Lieut.-Gov. of the N. W. P.) wrote these words, and put this monstrous and far-fetched interpretation on the words to which he "invites particular attention," in absolute ignorance of the Fifth Report of the House of Commons of 1813—*the* authority, *par excellence*, on all questions connected with the Permanent Settlement. Will it be believed, that this supreme authority, writing at the time, and with the full knowledge and guidance of all the facts, and all the persons concerned, thus states, (p. 35) the meaning and intention of the very words (the Regulation itself being specifically referred to in the margin) that are so twisted and distorted by Sir Antony MacDonnell:—

"The village accountant, or *putwarry*, whose duties have been

described,* it was deemed necessary to retain under the new system ; *but*

* Some apologists of the MacDonnell school, when driven into a corner by this positive statement of the Fifth Report, have suggested that the quotation is not complete, and that the meaning (herein obvious enough) might be altered if we turn to the earlier passage in the Report dealing with the *patwari*, where his "duties have been described." Of course the answer to this is, that the duties, as described in the earlier passage of the Report, were those of the *patwari* under the Mughal Government, with which we are not concerned—all we want to know is, what was the position of the *patwari* under the *new régime*, as settled by the Government of Lord Cornwallis? But to make this quite clear, it is necessary to quote *in extenso* all the passages of the Report bearing on the *patwari*—which I here do once for all :—

"As it was the opinion of some intelligent servants of the Company that it would, in the approaching Settlement, be more advisable to resort to the institutions and rules of the *old Government*, with which the Natives were acquainted . . . your Committee will proceed to explain the scheme of internal policy in the management of the land revenue, to which it was contended, by the persons above alluded to, the preference should be given. . . . The small portions which remained were divided between . . . and the *putwarry* or village accountant, perhaps the only inhabitant who could write, and on whom the cultivators relied for an adjustment of their demands and payments to be made on account of their rents. Besides these persons, who, from the *zemindars* downwards, can be regarded in no other light than as servants of the Government, provision was made, either by an allotted share of the produce, or by a special grant of land, for the *canongoe*, or confidential agent of the Government. . . . Under the superintendence of this officer, or of one of his *gomastahs* or appointed agents, were placed a certain number of adjacent villages, the accounts of which, as kept by the *putwaries*, were constantly open to his inspection. . . . From this concise representation of what appears to have been the provincial organisation of the revenue department, your Committee think it may appear that when the Mogul Government was in its vigour . . . under this view of the Mogul system, as it formerly existed, and of the state into which it had fallen, it was by some suggested as advisable for the Company to . . .

"But the leading members of the Supreme Government appear to have been, at an early period of the transactions now commencing, impressed with a strong persuasion of the proprietary right in the soil possessed by the *zemindars*, or if the right could not be made out consistently with the institutions of the former Government, that reason and humanity irresistibly urged the introduction of it. In the decision of this question was contemplated the introduction of a new order of things, which should have for its foundation the security of individual property. . . . Your Committee will now proceed to give an account of the system of internal government *as modified* by Lord Cornwallis, and established by the code of Regulations. . . . The village accountant, or *putwarry*, whose duties have been described, it was deemed necessary to retain under the new system ; but he is, by the Regulations, placed in the situation of a servant to the *zemindar*."

These are the *ipsissima verba* of the Fifth Report in the order in which they occur, the omissions being simply of irrelevant matter. I defy any man of ordinary intelligence and honesty to read this passage through, and then to understand from it that the Regulations left the *patwari* still "the servant of the Government."

he is, by the Regulations, placed in the situation of a SERVANT TO THE ZEMINDAR, for the purpose [besides keeping the village accounts] of furnishing information respecting the lands which may at any time be ordered for sale by the Collector or by the Courts of Justice."

This one statement of the Fifth Report, even if it stood alone, is quite sufficient to knock the bottom out of Sir Antony MacDonnell's case in the Behar Survey business, and also out of the Madras Village Service Act. But the Madras Landholders' Association, in their Appeal-Memorial to the Secretary of State, support it by other testimony that is equally fatal to these official perversities. They quote the Fifth Report again, in the part referring to the Madras Presidency—para. 51. But above all, they quote Harrington's *Analysis*, page 164, which is absolutely decisive. Harrington says of the "Village *putwaries* or accountants" that they are

"*Rather* private servants of the landholders and farmers, than the public officers of Government"; [and consequently he declares that] "the rules concerning them might have been postponed for the fourth part of the *Analysis*, if it were not more convenient to include them in the third part from some of their described duties being immediately connected with the subject of it."

To most of us, it would seem a long step from the "convenience" of arranging a Report, to a solemn arrangement between the Government and the *zemindars*, on the strength of which, a century later, the Government proposes to mulct the latter (and their *ryots*) in millions sterling. That long step, Sir Antony MacDonnell jauntily takes, with the cock-sure air of a man who is only stating an acknowledged fact, when he airily adds to the record the fateful words "*who was to be a Government servant*," quoted above. For those words, as far as I can discover from a detailed acquaintance with the subject derived from the study of twenty-five years—there is absolutely no foundation whatever in the Regulations, in the Fifth Report, in Harrington's *Analysis*, or in any other authority of any value whatever.

THE NATIVE PRESS OF INDIA.

By An Anglo-Indian.

"I confess that since my arrival in India nothing has filled me with such astonishment, nothing has so disheartened me, nothing has made me feel so deeply how great are the difficulties of Government in this country, as insinuations which have appeared in certain organs of the Press with regard to this subject. When the Government of India has succeeded, after many years of persistent effort, in obtaining a re-examination of the conditions of the India Civil Service, it is indeed a matter for surprise that there should be found, I will not say amongst you, for I am happy to think that you have repudiated so unworthy an insinuation, but amongst some of those who represent themselves as the guides and leaders of Indian public opinion, men so incapable of appreciating what has been the character of English Rule and of its English representatives, as to assert in the face of their countrymen that the only object of the Government of India in appointing the Civil Service Commission has been to deceive the people of India and to resort to a base, mean, and abominable trick for the purpose of restricting still further the privileges of those who are so justly anxious to serve our Sovereign in the Civil Service of their country." (Extract from Lord Dufferin's speech to the Poona Sabha, 19 November, 1886.)

The hostile attitude of a certain section of the native press towards the ruling class in India which called forth the words quoted above and which is, if possible, more marked at the present time than it was in Lord Dufferin's day, affords a striking example of the difficulty of attempting to govern India on the advanced principles of the West. The hope apparently entertained by Lord Ripon that the semi-educated university graduates who in a large measure compose the journalistic class in India would wield, with honesty and moderation, the power entrusted to them by the repeal of the Press Act has unfortunately not been realized. The voice of the native press has again become loud and menacing. Several organs are nothing more than mere mouth-pieces for outbursts of hatred and contempt of British rule. By their agency class feeling is aroused among an ignorant and superstitious population to such an extent, that otherwise peaceful citizens are found flying at each other's throats, as happened two years ago in many

parts of India at the festival of the *'Id*, and as will happen again on the first occasion that the precautionary measures of the authorities are in any way relaxed.

The scandal is a great and growing one and in no other country in the world would the existing state of things be tolerated. A conviction, however, is gradually gaining ground that the day is not far distant when the Government will be reluctantly compelled to resort to remedial legislation. Three years ago it was considered necessary to withdraw the freedom of the press in places administered by the Governor-General but not forming part of British India proper, owing to the steady increase of scurrilous journals of the lowest type in these districts; and unless native Editors in British India are prepared to take warning by the fate which has befallen their brethren in native states and to confine themselves to fair and honest criticism of the acts of their rulers, it is by no means improbable that many of them will sooner or later find themselves in a similar predicament.

The freedom of the press in India was first established by law in 1835 by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then provisional Governor-General. It is true that the newspapers of the period were almost exclusively Anglo-Indian. The native journals could be counted on the fingers of one hand and were small and altogether unimportant, none boasting of a circulation exceeding two or three hundred copies per issue. The law, however, recognised no distinction between the two sections of the press, and the freedom then granted applied equally to all publications whether conducted by Anglo-Indian or by native Editors, whether in English or in the vernaculars. This freedom the vernacular press continued to enjoy until the days of the mutiny, when, on the outbreak of hostilities in 1857, it at once became evident that only the prompt adoption of rigorous measures could prevent it from developing into an organ of treason. The authorities were equal to the occasion. A law was quickly passed rescinding the liberty of the vernacular section of

the press, and giving to the Executive summary powers to prevent the circulation of any matter calculated to add fuel to the already rapidly spreading flame of rebellion? Several native Editors were imprisoned, and many presses in different parts of the country were confiscated. It was originally intended that this law should remain in force for one year only, but its actual repeal did not take place until 1868. The vernacular press was once more free; but the lesson of the mutiny was still fresh in the memory of all, and up to 1872 there was practically little fault to be found with it. Occasionally, it is true, Government was compelled to mark its displeasure at the tone of some particular print, but, on the whole, the press was distinctly on the side of loyalty and morality.

About that period a great impetus was given to education in India. Its advantages began to be in some measure recognised and in the growing demand for knowledge the press found increased encouragement and support. In some districts Government itself subscribed largely to the vernacular press, distributing the newspapers among the schools in the hope of further stimulating this desire for knowledge. As the spread of education increased, however, the supply of semi-educated natives soon exceeded the demand. Men began to find that as a means of obtaining a livelihood their education was in a great measure useless. Except in the service of Government there were few careers in which the training acquired in the Government colleges was of much practical value, and the number of those who could reasonably hope to obtain employment under Government, though large in itself, was small when compared with the supply. "You have educated us, you must employ us," was their constant cry. It was, of course, impossible that Government, however willing it might be, could find employment for all the graduates whom the schools and colleges were turning out. The result, as might be expected, was much discontent in the ranks of this half-educated class. Many of them turned to the press as

a means of earning a living. During the years 1873—1877, the number and circulation of the vernacular newspapers largely increased, more particularly in Bengal where the number of publications was nearly doubled, and it was only natural that these men should pour into the columns of their papers what they considered their grievances. Had they stopped at that, no harm and some good might have resulted; but unfortunately they did not. The loyalty which on the whole had characterized the vernacular press gradually gave place to language calculated to excite bitter hatred and contempt of British rule. Editors became advocates and promoters of sedition. Individual Members of the Government were grossly libelled and held up to merciless ridicule and contempt. Vernacular papers in the hands of unscrupulous editors were used to intimidate and to extort money from our feudatories and native subjects. It was clear that this state of things could no longer be tolerated. The opinions of this class were of themselves of little importance, and it could be easily dealt with should occasion arise; but the Government of the day was determined that the machinery of the press should not be employed to spread disloyalty and distrust of British rule among the people of the land. It was reluctant to interfere with the freedom of the press, but the policy of non-intervention could no longer be maintained, and in 1878 an Act was passed by Lord Lytton's Government which completely gagged the vernacular press. Printers and publishers were required to enter into a bond binding themselves not to print in any vernacular publication "words or signs or visible representations likely to create disaffection to the Government established by law in British India or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions or sects" nor to use, nor to attempt to use, any newspaper for purposes of intimidation or extortion. The object aimed at was thus effectually accomplished: the disloyal and seditious utterances of a small class could no longer be communicated through the medium of the press to masses

too ignorant to judge of their worthlessness. Unfortunately this "gagging act," as it was commonly called, remained in force for only three years. It was repealed in 1882 by Lord Ripon, who earned for himself a cheap popularity at the expense of sound administration; and but little time elapsed before the gravity of the error committed was fully apparent.

So far I have endeavoured to sketch, in as condensed a form as possible, the past history of the native press; and before proceeding to discuss its present extent and influence, a few remarks of a general nature, on the intellectual development of the people with whom the press has to deal, may not be altogether out of place. In the rapid advance towards western civilization in India during the last decade the fact that the educated class bear but a very insignificant proportion to the mass of the population is too apt to be overlooked. Notwithstanding the great impetus to education, ignorance and superstition everywhere prevail to an extent which it is difficult to realize in England. India, it must be remembered, is essentially a nation of agriculturists. Of the 280 millions inhabitants of British India no less than 72 per cent. of the adult males are directly dependent upon agriculture for the necessaries of life. The dwellers in towns form but a small fraction of the total population, for those living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants do not number above 5 millions. The population is in fact almost exclusively rural, dwelling in hamlets and villages thickly dotted over the face of the country. Conservative to the back-bone, these people cling to their hereditary homesteads, too often indifferent to the fact that their acres have long ceased to afford adequate support to their increased number. Extreme poverty is the lot of a numerous class; yet they abhor change of any kind, and view it with a superstitious dread hardly imaginable. I cannot better convey an idea of the incredible ignorance prevalent among this great rural population, than by quoting the following extract from the official

Gazette of the Government of India, dated 27th June 1887. It is by the pen of an intelligent native official and describes graphically the difficulties besetting the path of progress in this country.

"The following cases, which came under my personal observations, will fairly illustrate the hopeless ignorance of the majority of village populations in this country. It was at Muhammadabad Post Office, in Azamgarh district, I was one afternoon sitting under a tree close to the Post Office talking to some Tahsil and police officials who had called to see me. The letter-box (a big, square, newly painted, red one, with a big, long, projecting mouth-piece) was lying at a distance of about 20 yards from where we were sitting, waiting to be built up in the wall. A villager approached with a letter in his hand and inquired where he was to place it. The letter-box was pointed out to him. He went up to the box, took off his shoes at a little distance from it, folded his hands reverently, put his letter in the box, bowed low before it and placed 2 coppers on the ground; retreated a few steps with face towards the box (walking backwards), again bowed very low, then put on his shoes and walked away. I did not discover that he had left 2 coppers on the ground close to the letter-box till some time after he had left. In another case I saw a man drop a letter into the letter-box and then putting his lips close to the mouth of the box, calling aloud (very loud) that the letter was to go to Rewah as if somebody was sitting inside the box to hear and carry out his wishes. . . . Numerous other cases of ignorance of this nature have occasionally come under my observation, but those mentioned above are quite sufficient to show what class of people we have to deal with in rural parts."

The town population is naturally many stages in advance of that of the villages, but even here it cannot be said that education has made much way among the masses.

In painting this somewhat gloomy picture of the intellectual attainments of the people of India, I do not wish

to appear to minimize the results that have already been achieved in this direction. Much has been done both by the State and by the people themselves. The extent to which education has become popularized may be gathered from the fact that during the decade ending 1892-93, the annual expenditure under this head from all sources rose from 186 to 229 lakhs, while the total number of educational institutions increased from 109,085 to 144,699, and the number of pupils from 2·8 millions to 3·8 millions. These facts suffice to show the success which has attended our educational system in India. Readily admitting however that in the face of great difficulties much progress has been made, what I submit is, that the results are comparatively small in proportion to the vastness of the population. The census returns of 1891 show that only 12½ million adults of both sexes are able to read and write, so that the percentage of those who possess the merest rudiments of education is very low. If we proceed a step further and take as our standard the entrance examination at the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, we find that out of 70,000 candidates for matriculation during the five years ending with 1891 only 34 per cent. were successful; while if we go yet further we find that only 1 in every 10 candidates for matriculation succeeded in obtaining a degree; and of these, it must be remembered, only a limited few attain a standard which will bear comparison with western ideas of progress. These facts should be carefully borne in mind in any discussion regarding the freedom of the native press of India.

I now proceed to consider the native press as it exists in the present day. Owing to the ephemeral character of many native prints it is a matter of some difficulty to ascertain with accuracy the actual number of papers in existence; but I believe that there are at the present time some 350 newspapers proper published under native management. Most of these are in the Vernacular, but a few are conducted in English, while others are in both

English and Vernacular. The majority of these are weekly or bi-weekly, the number of daily papers being under twenty. The circulation is greater in Bengal than in other parts of India, but on an average it does not exceed 800 to 900 copies per issue. Sir W. Hunter in his Imperial Gazetteer estimated the weekly circulation of native papers at about 250,000; but the circulation has increased considerably during the last few years, and at the present time cannot be less than 350,000 a week or about 18 millions a year: in other words, out of every 1,000 people 58 can read and write; and they have about 2 papers a week between them. It must, however, be remembered that the readers, and not merely the subscribers, represent the true circulation of a paper; and it is probable that the former are five or six times as numerous as the latter. There is, moreover, reason to believe that the practice of reading out newspapers in the villages for the benefit of those unable to read is by no means uncommon, so that the true circulation of the native papers is very much larger than might at first sight appear.

The first native newspaper was published in Bengali by the Serampur Mission Press in 1818; and for many years the native press retained the stamp of its early origin; but at the present time, with the exception of a few of the Madras papers, it is almost entirely devoted to the discussion of political questions. In addition to the newspapers proper there are a considerable number of magazines and pamphlets, but the majority of these are politically unimportant. In the front rank of native papers are the *Dainik* and the *Bangobasi*, Bengali papers of Calcutta, which are under one management, the *Dainik* being published on the first five days of the week and the *Bangobasi* on the sixth. The circulation of these two papers largely exceeds that of any other paper in India: that of the former is about 6,000 daily and that of the latter averages 23,000. Other well known Calcutta papers are the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Bengali*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Reis*

and Rayyet and the *Indian Mirror*. The chief exponents of native opinion in Bombay are the *Indian Spectator*, the *Bombay Samachar*, and the *Jam-i-Jamshed*. In Madras the *Hindu*, and in Upper India the *Akhbar-i-am* of Lahore and the *Bharat Jivan* of Benares are the most deserving of mention. The native papers are of course small, few containing as much matter as is found in a single page of a London daily. While however it must be admitted that the native press is still in its infancy, it is only necessary to turn to the last official report on the working of the Indian Post-office to be convinced that the circulation of newspapers is increasing at a very rapid rate. The figures given by the post office, though they necessarily fall far short of showing the actual circulation, give a very fair idea of the rate at which this circulation is extending throughout the country. The figures I quote include Anglo-Indian papers; but there is every reason to believe that the rapid expansion indicated is rather due to increased activity in the native press, owing to extra facilities introduced in 1881 for the despatch of light newspapers through the post, than to any very marked increase in the number of Anglo-Indian newspapers. Taking 100 to represent the number of newspapers, (excluding European papers), given out for delivery in 1883-84 the table in the margin shows the rate of increase during the last ten years. In 1883-84 the number of newspapers in circulation in India (excluding those exchanged with Europe) stood at 13 millions; and in 1892-93, ten years later, this total had risen to over 24 millions. These figures prove very clearly that the circulation of newspapers is increasing at a very rapid rate; but, as we have just stated, they naturally fall far short of the number actually in circulation.

1883-84	100
1884-85	111
1885-86	134
1886-87	145
1887-88	146
1888-89	150
1889 90	153
1890-91	165
1891-92	183
1892-93	186

A few of the native newspapers are conducted with ability and moderation; but too many are the mouthpieces of men whom it would be mere affectation to credit with any true feeling of loyalty towards the ruling power in this country;

and their demoralizing influence on the ignorant cannot be questioned. They deal in no restrained sentiments, but denounce our rule boldly and with peculiar bitterness. Many of the editors stand so deeply committed as advocates and promoters of sedition that they spare no pains to misrepresent the actions of the Government, and to this end no falsehood is too glaring, no exaggeration too gross but will serve to poison the minds of their too credulous readers. On the other hand it must be remembered that to supply antidotes to the poisoned weapons of the native press or to effectually expose the forgeries and misstatements, in which many native writers indulge is completely out of the power of the Government, while a moment's reflection cannot but convince any dispassionate thinker that the unchecked growth of sedition and its free circulation through the medium of the press must inevitably tend to undermine the loyalty and attachment of the people of India to the British crown. The Anglo-Indian press has, for some years past, endeavoured to draw the attention of the Government to the growing magnitude of this evil. The *Pioneer*, a leading journal, has frequently commented, in strong terms, on the evil effects which result from the unbridled license of the native press. "The official," it stated on one occasion, "is abused in terms of reckless vituperation and, in many instances, is deterred from conscientiously doing his duty. The minds of the people are poisoned against their rulers and it is obvious to the most careless observer that the hostile attitude of the press and its disgraceful license are every day rendering the administration more difficult." These views are moreover fully shared by the more respectable portion of the native press itself, and are, in fact, held by almost every man who has at heart the welfare and prosperity of our Indian Empire.

Let us now examine briefly the main grounds on which it is reasonable to suppose that the present policy of non-interference with the freedom of the native press is based. They are three. Firstly, an impression that the circulation

of the papers is small and that what is written never reaches the masses. The true circulation, however, is, as I have already shown, very much larger than would at first sight appear; and though the number of native newspapers in circulation per annum does not exceed 18 millions, the number of readers is probably four or five times as great. Secondly, a conviction that these papers are so many safety valves, carrying off much that would otherwise accumulate dangerously near the surface, and which, if deprived of an exit, might lead to the formation of secret societies on a large scale. This argument, however, loses much of its force when it is remembered that the contributors to the press are confined to an extremely small class,—a class which those most capable of forming an opinion declare to be completely out of touch with the masses, and profoundly indifferent to their welfare. With regard to the latter part of the argument, it is sufficient to observe that secret societies exist in countries which enjoy a free press, equally with those in which its freedom is materially curtailed; and that they will exist in India on a formidable scale only when discontent has spread itself among the masses, a state of things which the native press is doing its best to promote. Thirdly, a belief that it is preferable to ignore the evil than to interfere with the liberty of the press. Those who entertain this opinion appear to lose sight of the fact that all the usual arguments in favour of a free press fall to the ground when the very backward state of the population, to which reference has already been made, is taken into consideration. Wrong opinions no doubt yield to fact and arguments, when in course of time facts and arguments are brought face to face with them; but in the India of to-day how is this to be accomplished? The people of India, born amid the ruins of an ancient civilization, are still in the very cradle of western progress; and their welfare is far safer in the hands of a wise and benevolent, if despotic, Government than it would be in their own. So long as this state of things exists, so long as the maintenance of absolute power in this country is a recognized necessity,

there can be no question that to allow the seeds of sedition and disloyalty to be sown broad-cast by the native press is in the highest degree impolitic, and must ultimately be productive of grave political consequences completely throwing into the shade any advantages which a free native press might otherwise confer on the country.

It has been suggested from more than one quarter that the obvious cure for the evil is to put into force the ordinary law of libel; but the inadequacy of the existing law in such cases was clearly established on the occasion of the State prosecution of the *Bangobasi*, which, a year or two ago in the controversy over the Age of Consent Bill, exceeded the bounds of all legitimate criticism. Moreover it is unfortunately easier to set the ball rolling than to stop it; and the opportunities given by such trials for the propagation of seditious matter in a great measure nullify any good results which a conviction might otherwise effect. In all cases of this nature, so long as we have to deal with a grossly ignorant and superstitious people, the object aimed at should be the suppression of seditious matter rather than the subsequent punishment of the offenders. This can only be secured by a partial revival of Lord Lytton's press policy; and the fact that this has not already been done is attributed by the natives of India not to a wish to avoid interference with the liberty of the subject which is one of the chief characteristics of the English nation, but simply to fear of the consequences of interfering with a liberty once conceded. It would not, of course, be necessary to withdraw the freedom of the native press generally. An Act might be framed on similar lines to the Press Act of 1878 empowering the Governor-General in Council to bring any *bonâ fide* native newspaper, irrespective of the language in which it is published, under the operation of its clauses by a simple Gazette Notification to that effect. Confining this power to the Governor-General in Council would be an absolute guarantee that no unnecessary or unreasonable interference with the freedom of any particular paper would be permitted. Criticism of a fair and legiti-

On the Chitrál side it is worsè, for, unwarlike as I have over and over again shown the Chitrális and Swatis to be, much to the assumed astonishment of those who would make heroes of them so as to enhance their own credit in respectively managing or subduing them, the laughter and song-loving Chitráli will be completely cowed till our civilization teaches him that treachery is his only weapon against those who have despoiled his paradise-home for no reason that he can possibly discover. The Kashmîri Muhammadan is the most timid of men and yet it is easier to defend a frontier against Gurkhas than against his intrigue or the traditional aptitude of the weak and sickly Swati, ruled by his women-folk that are twice his size, for getting up a Jihád or "holy-war" against the infidel foreigner, whoever he may be, anywhere throughout Pathan regions if not in India itself, provided the religious conditions for it exist in the way of proper leadership, sufficient provocation and chances of success. Not only were all these conditions wanting in the late expedition, but there was also the fact that we had disarmed opposition by proclaiming that our only quarrel was with that *persona ingratissima* among Swatis, Umra Khan, and that as soon as he was defeated and Chitrál relieved, we would evacuate the country—(which, if we do not, will be a shameful breach of faith). If the Swat border has been quiet for so many years; if the Buneris did not, as a body, join in the defence of the Malakand range, or if the principal Bajaur Mullahs discountenanced a Jihád, it is because the Panjab Government had always honourably kept its pledge of non-interference with the tribes in question and, therefore, the proclamation to them was trusted. I regret General Low congratulating himself on having "deceived" such an enemy even in a military sense of the term. Chivalry, not sharpness, impresses the Pathan and the Dard. Among them stories of providing an enemy with food and weapons so as to place him on a footing of equality are very common and have been acted on in the recent fight. Many Englishmen

would rather be Sher Afzul who provided the besieged at Chitrál with supplies than Robertson who obtained them from him whenever there was a truce by professing to have run short of them. Even that shady character, Umra Khan —whom we allowed to invade Southern Chitrál in 1892, though this is made a crime to him in 1895—treated our prisoners far more generously than we like to see him treated by his old enemy, the Amir Abdurrahman, who would lose his influence among Muhammadans, if he did not extend hospitality to a foe seeking his protection. So far from agreeing with the writers who assert that Orientals do not appreciate generosity, I maintain from a greater knowledge of "natives" than they evidently possess, that Orientals are singularly under its influence and that we should have gained an earlier submission rather by presenting a Maxim gun to the tribesmen when being worsted, than by pointing it, say, at an unarmed wretch waving a flag at a distance where he could do no possible harm.

Be that as it may, Russia has, in our recent Chitrál expedition, again scored a cheap and effective victory at our expense. She has now ascertained whether and in what force troops can operate on the Peshawar-Chitrál route; here again the sea of mountains has been pierced by us in her interests, and she has succeeded, as at Gilgit, in drawing us far from our base. To alarm the British public, a silly demonstration by a few Cossacks on the Pamir was as successful as was Grombcheffsky's Hunza performance. Here also a long line of communications has to be kept up with the certainty of a hostile combination of the tribes on the first opportunity as on the Abbottabad-Chilás side, with this difference, however, that we have not lost prestige in the latter case by a glaring breach of faith as we shall do with the Swatis, Buneris, Bajauris and Momands, if we do not fully and faithfully carry out our proclamation.

Long before our troops reached Jandôl, the home of Umra Khan, Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dîr, whom *we* had been the cause of driving into exile at the Kabul

Court, had already crippled his power, just as Dîr had taken Sher Afzul and his party prisoners, long before our "relief of Chitrál" by the supposed moral effect of General Low's approach. Now that Dîr has fulfilled the object for which the expedition ostensibly set out, our reports tacitly deprive him even of the credit that our telegrams at the time of our difficulties could not help giving to him from day to day. Here is the man who will keep the road open to Swat, as it has been for centuries for the trader from Badakhshan to Peshawar via Chitrál, Dîr, and Bajaur. Swat we can enter at any moment and the rest of the road does not require our presence.

Chitrál itself was alternately under Dîr and Badakhshan. Ghazan Khan of Dîr is still remembered as the most able over-Lord that Chitrál ever had and the Dîris are far less disliked by the Chitrális than the other more aggressive Pathans or Afghans. As a relative of the boy, Shujá'-ul-mulk, whom we have made the nominal Mehtar of Chitrál, Muhammad Sharîf Khan—if told that we shall hold him responsible for any "accident" to Shujá'-ul-mulk—might well preside over the Chitrál family-Council, till the minor attains his majority. Nizám-ul-mulk spoke as highly to me of the character of Sharîf Khan as he did of that of Safdar Khan of Nawagai. Even the dreaded Amán-ul-mulk had, at times, to bear Dîr ascendancy, but this ascendancy does not partake of the alleged oppressiveness of organized official Afghan rule, which, as was pointed out in 1877, drove so many Maulais in Zebák to seek refuge in Russian territory whither numbers have since been emigrating from Shignán, Raushan, Wakhan and other parts where the population is not Pathan or Afghan. Of course, the proper man to succeed my friend, Nizám-ul-mulk, is, as I contended even when the two were fighting, his uncle, Sher Afzul, or "the greatest lion." His "loyalty," whether in the British or French sense of the term, is beyond question, even after Dr. Robertson insisted on putting his head into that lion's mouth and, practically, *forced* Sher Afzul to besiege him,

which has given England a few more heroes and the thrilling episodes of a siege. Nizám-ul-mulk, as may be inferred from a letter to me which I published soon after his accession, looked upon Sher Afzul as a legitimate, and not improbable, successor and had spared his life from dynastic considerations, for Sher Afzul has a son and Nizám-ul-mulk has none. Not only the oldest surviving member of the Kathôr family, Sher Afzul is also the ablest and most liberal. As a local governor in Amán-ul-mulk's time he was successful and became popular. Following the example that had so often been set by the Chiefs of Nawagai, he remitted all taxes on the Chitrál people during his short reign before the advent of Nizám-ul-mulk, because he considered that, with economy, all the expenses of the State, could and should be borne out of the revenues of his own, or the dynastic, lands. Another argument in favour of the restoration of Sher Afzul besides his immense popularity among Chitrális, is his adhesion to Afghanistan, of which he gave the strongest proof even before he sought refuge in that country. In fact, he was expelled by Amán-ul-mulk for heading the "Afghan" party. He would continue the policy which we have established at so much cost and trouble in the Durand Mission and if that policy is good for Afghanistan, it is, *a fortiori*, even better when it can be extended to the *whole* of the region intervening between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Asia. Chivalrous, the idol of the people, a good administrator, reasonable, if ambitious, Sher Afzul is still the only man to rule Chitrál if we really wish to preserve the shadow of the independence of that country. The experiment seems a risky one, after our treatment of him, but it is a perfectly safe one in the opinion of those who understand his character. Afghan direct rule, however, would never be submitted to by the Chitrális and Umra Khan was merely welcomed this time, after having been opposed for years, because he brought back Sher Afzul.

More, therefore, than the *indirect* Afghan influence

through Dîr or Sher Afzul, a Chitráli, like all Dards generally, will not bear. Still less, indeed, will he stand distant Kashmir rule, for, although not so fanatical as a Pathan, he is a fairly good Muhammadan, when reminded of his duties and he still remembers the worse than Sassûn atrocities perpetrated on his kinsmen of Yasin by the Sikh and Dogra troops of Kashmir in 1860, which are chronicled in my "Dardistan," pages 95-98. If the dreaded Amán-ul-mulk, the father of the present boy-Mehtar, formally acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, and, as we now allege, through that feudatory our own, it was simply because he never dreamt that it could ever become a real authority owing to its remoteness. The subsidy which he received from Maharaja Ranbir Singh, he looked upon as blackmail levied on Kashmir in return for his not raiding Gilgit or even Bunji viâ Yasin.

As a recent writer rode westward, "the axis of our Indian Empire" moved along with him. It had once been at Gilgit, in his opinion, but he found it at Chitrál when he had travelled thither from Gilgit. It has since moved with him still more to the West, back to the old imperial roads of Kabul and Kandahar, after he visited these places. He will now find it in Europe. He has already given up the Baroghil Pass (which leads an invader into a trap by exposing him not only to the tribes all round, but also to an attack from Gilgit), in favour of the Dora Pass, but the latter involves the consideration of Zebak and not the other provinces of Badakhshan, which Russia can annex without all this circumvention. The safety of Badakhshan depends on TREATY and not on physical difficulties and it is idle to discuss the roads leading from Badakhshan into Chitrál, when the *casus belli* will already have arisen by Russia entering Badakhshan and thence, of course, moving by a fairly good road of 21 marches or 253 miles on to Kabul rather than to Peshawar via Chitrál over a road both longer and much worse.

What is more serious at present is the insatiability of our

military men for new expeditions. We are now told of a 5th key to India to be found in the route from Chitrál to Asmár and thence to Jelalabad.* This will involve us in conflict with the Kafir tribes which used to be so friendly before our demarcation on the Asmar side alienated one of their Bashgali sections. Of course, the Amir would not object to our subduing the Kafirs or rather letting him do so and I also think that the chances of a misunderstanding with him in the course of the projected expedition would be very small, for he rejoices in a well-demarcated frontier and an expedition from Chitrál to Asmár need not injuriously affect any existing *lacuna* in it. Nor are the dangers from Pathan alienation to be dreaded by him, for as long as he remains a good Muhammadan, he can always, in the event of an emergency, count on the support of Pathan tribes, whether within or without his delineated frontier. Indeed, considering that much of the success of the recent expedition is due to his indirect influence on Dir and Nawagai and to his direct relation with the Badshah of Kuner and the holy men of Bajaur generally, the proper and easy course would be, after our immediate evacuation of Chitrál and the road to it :

(*a*) definitely to allot the suzerainty of Bajaur to the Amir, a suzerainty which he has always had as a matter of *primus inter pares* among Pathan chiefs, even should it be found necessary or desirable, to restore a relative of Umra Khan to Barwa, giving Manda to his chivalrous brother, General Muhammad Shah, or to the able soldier, his cousin, Abdul Majid. With the Amir in over-rule and Dîr fully installed, the humbled Jandôl family will, no longer, encroach beyond the limits of its ancestral territory or hope to get the Chiefship of the whole of Bajaur through British

* Not to speak of Herát or "Mervousness" or the old Imperial routes of Kabul and Kandahár, there is (*a*) Forsyth's key (1868-72) which was to bring trade to our Kangra Valley in some 50 heavy marches over the Karakorum, Ladak, Zanskar and Lahul Passes ; (*b*) The Durand key viâ Hunza-Gilgit and Kashmîr (1891), (*c*) the Kaghan-Chilás-Hunza route (1866) (kept quiet by me, but, unfortunately, made known through the Chilás campaign in 1892) ; (*d*) the (borrowed, and now dropped,) Baroghil-Chitrál-Dîr-Bajaur-Swat key (1895).

aid or recognition, as Umra Khan had long had good reason to believe.

(*b*) the Khan of Dîr to keep the road towards Swat on the one side and Chitrál on the other.

(*c*) Sher Afzul to be restored to the Chitrál Throne or else the boy-Mehtar to be maintained under a regency composed of the chief hereditary landowners and presided over by Muhammad Sharîf Khan of Dîr.

There is also the idea of restoring the cognate Khushwaqtia family to the rule of Yasin, when, I hope, the claims of my friend, Raja Khushwaqtia, who has rendered our Foreign Office important service, will be remembered. Still, it seems unwise to separate Yasin from Chitrál, and I see no reason why, failing Sher Afzul, a Khushwaqtia should not be placed over both districts. Anything seems better than the nominal rule of a boy, 9 years old,—the constant companion of his uterine brother, the murderer Amír-ul-Mulk, under the *de facto* Mehtarship of a British Resident for many years to come.

There is no real necessity for maintaining a British Resident at Chitrál, except as an Envoy (an Indian Maulvi would be best) to give correct information, for actual experience has proved, what I have so often stated in a minority of one, that the road from Peshawar to Chitrál is one that can, at any moment, be occupied in case of need (see route published in the "Globe" of the 19th April from my "Itineraries" collected between 1866 and 1874). So late as the 25th March last this was not believed to be possible at the Geographical Society, the President of which deplored the absence of information regarding the countries between Chitrál and Peshawar, a view in which an ex-Head of the Topographical Survey, Lord Roberts and others joined him. "I had brought an account of the route, from Peshawar to Chitrál, which was published a few days later in the "Times" and I supplied to "The Morning Post" a statement of the tribal politics of Dîr, Swat and Bajaur, with special reference to Jandôl and Nawagai,

districts that were, practically, *terræ incognitæ* before. A Map was also published in that paper on the 18th April, in which for the first time appeared *inter alia* the names of Manda and Barwa, the seats of the very man, Umra Khan, with whom we had flirted since 1885 and against whom we were then waging war. This Map is based on a very large and detailed native Map and Manuscript, full of unassorted, though valuable, information, that have been in my possession since 1872 and that had repeatedly been shown at various learned Societies with the result that their intelligent utilization was recommended by them to Government as was also the elaboration of the ethnographical and linguistic material that I had collected regarding these and neighbouring countries since 1866. It is not too much to say that had this been done, much of the expense and all the complications that have resulted from our ignorance of them might have been avoided, provided, of course, that there was a sincere wish among the deciding Authorities, to be guided only by considerations of the public welfare.

In 1892 in my "Notes on recent events in Chilás and Chitrál" I referred to "*an Anglo-Russian understanding on the subject of Chitrál,*" which was then proposed in the Russian papers, although, to the ordinary understanding, Chitrál was altogether out of the sphere of Russia's legitimate influence. The question, however, was: "Is Chitrál really *within* that of *England?*" and the events that then took place seemed to render it difficult to answer it in the affirmative. Old Amán-ul-mulk had died under suspicious circumstances after a reign of some 30 years. We had just recognized the wholesale fratricide and probable parricide, Afzul-ul-mulk, when he was dispossessed and killed, in fair fight, by Sher Afzul, who had returned from his Afghan exile. The acknowledged heir and eldest son of Amán-ul-mulk had tried in vain to obtain our recognition, but, being of a loyal and trustful disposition and confiding in the justice of his cause as also in our eventual support, Nizám-ul-mulk started from Gilgit, where he was a fugitive, for

Chitrál and took it with the aid mainly of the very troops that were sent to oppose him. He was installed, inaugurated a reign of mercy, allowing both Sher Afzul to escape to Kabul and Amîr-ul-mulk to return to Chitrál, so that, as shown in his letters to me, the remnants of the Kathor family, which "my dear and handsome, but misguided brother, Afzul-ul-mulk, had so reduced" might not utterly disappear. His minor enemies he forgave or even employed. There was not a cloud on the Chitrál horizon, nor the faintest danger from any other quarter. Umra Khan he hoped to keep in check by his relationship with him and through Safdar Khan of Nawagai; nor did he altogether omit from his calculations the restoration of Muhammad Sharif Khan to Dîr. As for Russia he had really been first warned by us of her geographical proximity, for intervening Passes, the wastes of the Pamirs and want of communication had seemed to render even her existence problematical. Indeed, when Capus, Bonvalot and Pepin passed through Yasin, he wrote to me wanting to know the exact difference between Frenchmen and Russians which they alternately were said to be. There was absolute peace and no apparent chance of its interruption in the chorus of laughter, song and sport, that ascended from Chitrál—nor was India threatened in that or any other quarter.

Yet how was it that soon after Lord Elgin arrived in India he became aware of the possibility of Nizám-ul-mulk being murdered at any time, as stated in a recent speech, or that, being aware of it, he took no steps to prevent it, indeed reduced the Chitrál garrison from 50 to 8 and simultaneously sent the combined British-Kashmír subsidy, with arrears, to Nizám-ul-mulk? It reached him on the 17th December last and any vigilant mind, acquainted with Chitrál traditions, might have anticipated his murder within a fortnight after the arrival of an inflated, and apparently ostentatiously presented, subsidy. Whereas, formerly, it took many years before a claimant to the Chitrál throne enriched himself sufficiently to be worth

killing, our yearly subsidy to its occupant formed an ever-recurrent inducement to murder. As a matter of fact, Nizám-ul-mulk was murdered 15 days later or on the 1st January 1895, by the ungrateful brother, Amîr-ul-mulk, whose life he had spared under notions of mercy, in advance of his time, with which I, perhaps more than anyone else, had imbued him. Assuming the murder to have been committed under a sudden impulse, there was, at any rate, one thing of which a native British Agent, or an English Resident acquainted with the language and feelings of Chitrális, would have informed the Indian Government and that was that Sher Afzul was *expected* in Chitrál the moment that Nizám-ul-mulk was so treacherously killed, that Sher Afzul was the popular idol, that he was a friend of the British and that Amîr-ul-mulk had no chance even should we recognize him as Mehtar. Indeed, being given to understand that the British had helped Umra Khan with money and arms in order to become the ruler of the whole of Bajaur, Sher Afzul thought that he could not ensure his own recognition as Mehtar of Chitrál in a more effective way than by an alliance with the favourite Umra Khan. As for the occupation by the latter of the Nari, or Narsati, villages in Southern Chitrál territory, this was a matter of detail and the repetition of an old encroachment, that would be condoned, or given as a reward for Umra Khan's help, but that could never really set aside the great policy of the Indian Government, in which Dr. Robertson did not appear to be initiated, to establish a powerful Pathan State with Umra Khan at its head on a feudatory footing in independent territory. It was hard that Dr. Robertson should come in his way; if the British Government could only recognize the *de facto* ruler, why did Dr. Robertson not retire and let him and Amîr-ul-mulk fight it out? Why anticipate the decision of a struggle by letting Amîr-ul-mulk come into the Fort with him and committing himself to his temporary recognition pending a reference to the Government? If ever battle was the result of misunder-

standings and mistakes, it was in this case. Sher Afzul was attacked by Robertson before he had any opportunity of explaining his claims and objects and poor Baird was slain. Yet was Sher Afzul, like Umra Khan, ever careful to avoid, as far as possible, the killing of Europeans and when, to his great surprise, Umra Khan was not allowed an explanation, even after he had hastened to meet the British invaders of his home, and from being a protégé of the British Government, appeared to be treated as an enemy, Sher Afzul himself fled, though he subsequently surrendered to the brother of the Khan of Dîr on representations that have not been fulfilled.

Colonel Kelly would, probably, have been able to raise the siege or rather the material pressure on Dr. Robertson to give up Amîr-ul-mulk, but all that was by-play. The British troops moved on in spite of Umra Khan's negotiations for a hearing; in spite of his flight and the devastation of Manda; after Chitrál had long been relieved; when no Chitráli could be found to oppose us. Still the troops moved on: and now, hungry and depressed, but, above all, puzzled, the surviving natives are returning to their destroyed homesteads, wondering why all this has come upon them. It is a puzzle all round: Dr. Robertson may have had an insight into its cause from the beginning, but, as for the rest, Umra Khan, Sher Afzul, the Chitrális, everyone concerned in the expedition and, above all, the British public and the people of India are altogether puzzled as to the origin, object, and wheels within wheels of the tragedy that has been performed.

I admit that revolutions cannot be made with rose-water and that even friends, like Umra Khan, cannot at once be turned into enemies without some trouble. The first indication which Umra Khan got of our altered feelings towards him—or rather of the most fortunate change in our policy towards the Amîr which made us no longer desire a feudatory Bajaur—was on the occasion of the recent delimitation of the Afghan frontier at Asmar, when Umra

Khan, in vain, asked us also to demarcate what we considered to be his. He went off in a huff and sought to compensate himself, as before, on the side of Chitrál, but between *iræ amantium* and the acts of a real foe there is a world of difference. Still, I am glad that Umra Khan has quitted the scene of his ever-continuing encroachments and all I would ask for him is the generosity of treatment which, in spite of the clamour of *his* public, he bestowed on Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes and to instal his brother or cousin in the Chiefship of, if possible, a united Jandôl.

The only advantage that I see from the Chitrál expedition is that the expenditure and consequent taxation of our Indian fellow-subjects, which it involves, may justly be traced to Russia insisting that the *uti possidetis* principle, either of actual occupation or of irresistible influence, shall regulate the Anglo-Russian frontiers in Asia. The fact is that Chitrál was and is being sacrificed to the demands of *la haute politique* which, in its imperturbable and cruel march, moves on to its purpose, irrespective of one and all of the avowed objects of an expedition having been previously achieved. That purpose is to prove in a tangible manner that England can exert her power right up to the general limits that are laid down for the Pamir agreement. This has been done *coûte que coûte* as regards Chitrál and will continue to be done in every direction in the still independent countries that intervene between Peshawar and the Hindukush. It is to the interest of Russia to make our respective frontiers conterminous along a line of over a thousand miles with a number of weak points, through which it may be broken, so that our co-operation, or at least neutrality in European questions, may be secured for Russia by the simplest threat of a movement against India. The Liberal Government, as the authors or victims of the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention of 1872, can therefore go forward not only in perfect safety, but also enjoy the special favour of Russia in continuing the work then begun. They also possess

the inestimable advantage of support by their political opponents on home questions, the Jingoes of the Conservative party, who, as long as there is some pretence of glory, or an annexation, to be got for England, are satisfied. The British taxpayer rejoices in the heroism of his troops for which he has not to pay and the Indian, who has to bear the burthen, is not represented in Parliament, for it will be noticed that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji whose success at Finsbury depends on Radical support, says very little now on the poverty of India in consequence of military expenditure, although over a million pounds sterling have already been spent on the Chitrál expedition. The questions of Sir William Wedderburn and others meet with evasive answers, or a refusal to reply, thus showing the impotence of Parliament to prevent any action on which the Government of the day may be bent, as explanations or discussions *after* the mischief has been done are obviously useless. Nor has any light been vouchsafed as regards the transgression of the "Act for the better Government of India," that took place when the Frontier was transgressed for the Chitrál expedition at Shergarh, which all our maps show to be the last village in British territory in that direction. There never was such a unanimous consensus of opinion as regards the folly and wickedness of the Chitrál expedition as exists among Indian Civilians and even the bulk of military authorities. That it should have been undertaken under a righteous Government that abhors bloodguiltiness and with a Viceroy who prided himself on his want of initiative, will certainly be a puzzle to the historian, who does not take into account the diplomatic requirements for the Pamir agreement. Lord Elgin certainly did not choose the eve of a great financial embarrassment of India to cover himself with fame by increasing the military expenditure, though no Englishman would like to divide with him the credit, if it be his, of lulling the tribes into a false security by proclaiming to them our immediate evacuation after the defeat of Umra Khan and the relief of Chitrál. As

with Chilás and as is, indeed, the case with our own proper frontier, attacks or raids may very conveniently occur on the Swat-Chitrál road, so as to account for our continued occupation in spite of the proclamation. The circumstances are being inflated as much as the heroes who may profit by them. The unexpected courage of humanitarian Radicals only points to one conclusion which we cannot sufficiently impress on our Indian fellow-subjects namely, that all their troubles and increased taxation are due, either to the instigation of Russia, or to our compliance with her diplomacy. Had it been merely desired to rid Chitrál of Umra Khan, an unmistakeable order to him, or, if he refused, a few hundred pounds and some words of encouragement to Dîr would have been sufficient and had it been really intended to give peace with independence to Chitrál, the murderer Amîr-ul-mulk would never have been recognized for a single minute and Sher Afzul would have been installed at once and not converted into an enemy *malgré lui.*' Here, however, I must do the justice to the India Office to admit that there were more than one member of its Council and other high functionaries, who advocated the claims of Sher Afzul with the Government of India.

The *pourparlers* in connexion with the Pamir negotiations are avowedly based on the actual facts of the spheres of possession, or of incontestable influence by Russia and England respectively in Asia. Russia has, for instance, *not* to prove that she can, at any moment, occupy the howling wildernesses to the north of the Hindukush or take Raushan and Shignán whenever disposed to do so. Nor is her influence in Bokhara open to the faintest doubt in inducing its Shah to yield to Afghanistan a worthless portion of Derwáz, in return for almost as worthless portions in the above-mentioned petty districts, which will probably be now restored to its ancient Dynasty, by "the great emancipator of the North." What, however, could be represented as doubtful was the extent to which *England* might be able to enter Chitrál, or to hold it in subjection in

the event of the conjectural invasion of India by the Baroghil and Dora passes. So the desirability of showing possession up to the limits of the Hindukush in every direction from Peshawar became obvious from the above standpoint which will continue to direct our policy towards the intervening tribes till our construction of roads may make a Russian invasion possible where it was not so before and till, at any rate, the people whom we have decimated without mercy or even the chivalry that guides these so-called barbarians against less well-armed or well-fed foes, will call in the Russians as deliverers. Russia is now bidding for the support of the Muhammadan world and the cheapness and familiar ways of her administration are causing the severities of her original advent in Central Asia to be forgotten. Being poor, she is obliged to get us to pay for such experiments as a war in Kabul, which an unimportant Russian mission stimulated, a military road into Hunza; and now a Cossack ride has been sufficient to rouse our ever-ready suspicions, and has induced us to waste the *two* millions that will soon be absorbed by the opening and keeping up of the road from Shergarh to Chitrál, if not beyond to Badakhshan and destruction. Thus are countries and men the playthings of Diplomatists, whether of constitutional or despotic Governments, and thus will all the tribes inhabiting the regions between the British and English frontiers be absorbed in fulfilment of the vague diplomatic notion that has now superseded that of "the neutral zone" by which, at one time, Russia herself, to her credit be it said, was willing to check the extension of her own power. Whether the Anglo-Russian frontiers being conterminous will tend to the better Government of India and the consequent greater contentment of our Indian fellow-subjects, on which contentment, in the first instance, and on the Indus line, in the second, the Defence of India really rests, is open to doubt, for the constant drain of growing military expenditure on the acquisition and protection of that lengthy frontier must gradually make taxation intolerable,

while reducing the outlay on education and public works and adding rebellious elements to the population of India in the new annexations. Thus is the game of Russia played by those who wish to obtain honours and promotion for themselves at whatever cost to the Empire. The impeachment of such men, whatever their position, who have so trifled with the interests of India, and who have so covered our civilization with reproach would probably follow the revelations which a Royal Commission would make into the secret history that began with the temporary suspension of Maharaja Pertab Singh on a groundless charge and ended with the got-up siege of Chitrál as the last scene of the first Act that is now played in the Great Tragedy of Asia.

Strange to say, it is to Russia that we must look if the danger of contiguous frontiers is to be postponed for the present. Lord Dufferin in his Belfast speech trusted to his personal friendship with M. de Giers for averting the evil day of a conflict. First was invented the "neutral zone," which, practically, left things as they were in that region; then our encroachments induced Russia to assert the principle of proving influence by the limit of actual possession or indisputable power of interference. Now that M. de Giers is dead, a new School has arisen that, in spite of the young Czar's personal predilections, views every step taken by the British with suspicion. It is this suspicion which, fortunately for us, may, at the eleventh hour, tend to bring about our evacuation of Chitrál, unless we are prepared to offer an equivalent compensation to Russia in a quarter which it is undesirable even to indicate.

PHOTOGRAPH (FACING NEXT PAGE) OF HIS HIGHNESS, THE LATE NIZÁM-UL-MULK, THE MEHTAR OF CHITRÁL AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

I publish the photograph of the late Mehtar of Chitrál, Nizám-ul-Mulk, as the first ruler of that country who gained the sincere friendship of Europeans; who was bound by sentiment, far more than by any tie of interest, to the British Alliance and who, I fear, among the last of 70 survivors of the ancient Katôr Dynasty, in the fell swoops of the last few

years since we entered into relations with them, might well have called out to the Indian Vice-Cæsar, "*Ave, Cæsar, morituri te salutant.*"

He was certainly the first of his race, if not of all Central Asian or Asian Princes, who contributed to the pages of a British, or any, Review or to the proceedings of a learned International Congress. Without being a literary man himself, he had great literary sympathies, a desire to promote knowledge and a nice appreciation of Persian and Chitráli poetry. In the "Asiatic Quarterly" of January 1891 will be found some of "the Fables, Legends and Songs of Chitrál," which he collected at my request and which attracted deserved attention at the Oriental Congress held in London in September of that year. I hope to translate many more of them as also to publish his Memoir and his collection of phrases and dialogues in Chitráli-Persian and (now) English—which will be of great practical utility to travellers—together with historical notices regarding his country, which I have long had by me. Though I do not attach the same importance to the language and legends of Chitrál that belongs to the prehistoric remnants preserved in Hunza, for which I already predicted in 1866 a degeneracy that has now come upon them owing to contact with Kashmir and her allies, yet they are also of very great interest and, in song, of unsurpassed sweetness and tenderness. In the poets and minstrels depicted in this Review of January 1893 we have also, in all probability, the last utterers of Chitráli song in its most genuine accents. That home of legendary lore has now been devastated without the faintest shadow of a provocation or the least necessity or the smallest benefit to ourselves, nay to our injury, by the first civilized nation of the world that ought more than any other to cherish the cradle of our civilization. The loss to the history of the most ancient renderings of thought in human speech is irreparable. Hunza-Nagyr has succumbed to, and Chitrál will not survive, the disastrous effect on language and folklore—not to speak of ancient landmarks and culture—of the inroads of Sikhs, Hindus, Gurkhas, Dogras and Panjab Muhammadans, that our Tommy Atkins has dragged with him, but, I hope, that in the specimens collected by my late friend, Nizám-ul-mulk, whose interests I defended in this country as an office-holder in his own, the ancient dialectic purity may still remain a memory, if not a model. Captain Younghusband in his paper at the Geographical Society on the 25th March last, refers to conversing, *inter alia*, with Nizám-ul-mulk, on "Dr. Leitner's status." I may, therefore, now explain for the first time, in gratitude to, as also *in memoriam* of, my deceased friend that, long before journalistic knights met three Empires in all safety, or travelling M.P.'s rediscovered the friendship of an old Ally, I was appointed by Nizám-ul-mulk and his Council to high hereditary rank in recognition of being the first European who had brought the races of Dardistan to the knowledge of the learned world, had committed its languages to writing and had been kind to its peoples. This, and similar documents from other Chiefs in those regions, I keep as *souvenirs* of real appreciation and as showing, to myself and others, that the key to the confidence of these people is sympathy and the cultivation of their languages.



H.H. THE LATE NIZÁM-UL-MULK, MEHTAR OF CHITRÁL AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

By Hormuzd Rassam.

It is now nearly a year since we heard of atrocities committed upon helpless Armenian peasants, and more than eight months have elapsed since the International Commission consisting of British, French, Russian and Ottoman officials commenced its investigations into the melancholy incident, yet we are still in the dark as to the true version of the reported savagery and the cause that led to it.

It is true that the ears of the public have been ringing for the last eight months with stories of horrible and cruel doings of Kurds and Ottoman soldiery upon harmless Armenian men, women, and children; but the reports reached us through irresponsible and unofficial sources and from so-called correspondents who could not possibly have obtained trustworthy and authentic information. In the first place there was a strict prohibition from the Porte against any newspaper correspondent entering the Province where the atrocities were said to have been committed, and, secondly, even if any person had managed to smuggle himself into the country, either through Russia or Persia, how is he to obtain reliable information seeing that the individual would be a foreigner and incapable of understanding the different languages of the country? It was quite ridiculous to read in some of the newspapers sensational reports from "Special Correspondents" who were supposed to be in the disturbed districts, especially at a time when the mountainous regions of Bitlis and Moosh were inaccessible on account of the blocking up of the roads by snow and the difficulty of getting at the right men for unbiased accounts of the reported massacre. Why, even at a time when peace and tranquillity are prevalent in that country, it is sometimes difficult for an impartial man to get at the truth of certain reports even if he is well acquainted with the customs and languages of the people. I wonder how

many of the foreign officials in Asia Minor and Kurdistan have social intercourse with the different nationalities of that part of Turkey ?*

I can safely assert that not one of those who hold official position nor indeed any stranger who is not intimately acquainted with the Moslem element is capable of fathoming the feeling of Kurds and Turkomans who are the predominant races in those regions. I feel confident that the general public who have been reading sensational reports about the alleged atrocities in the Bitlis and Moosh districts are now under the impression that all the Moslems are cut-throats and vagabonds and devoid of any human feeling ; but I must say that during my long and intimate association with different Moslem Communities all over Asiatic Turkey, whether in my official or private capacity, I found them most trustworthy in their dealings, true to their promises, and scrupulously faithful in their friendship even to their fellow Christians.

It is true in matters touching their religion they are strictly zealous and seem very fanatical, but I should like to know where religious fanaticism does not exist whether in the east or west ? I myself witnessed such persecutions amongst the Christian sects in Assyria and Mesopotamia that nothing but the strong arm of the Sultan's troops prevented bloodshed ; and if left to themselves they would persecute each other to death, as was the case with the Nestorians of Assyria.

Most unfortunately, however, a good deal of corruption exists amongst the officials and bribery is still in vogue in the Sultan's dominions, which is a great blot in the administration of justice in those provinces ; and were it not for this legal disease three-fourths of the existing misery amongst the Mohammedan and Christian nationalities would be obviated.

It may be asked what is the remedy for the existing

* I include the Armenian districts in Kurdistan, as it is quite impossible now to determine the limit of so-called Armenia.

misgovernment and discontent of the different races in Turkey? My answer is: certainly not coërcion, but just and equitable treatment; and, above all, proving to the mixed nationalities that the aim of England is the good Government of the country and the amelioration of the condition, not of a particular sect, but of *all religions and classes who have much to endure.*

The Moslems of Turkey have always had a thorough trust in, and appreciation of, British honor and justice; and a common belief has ever existed among the lower classes that the English are their cousins in consequence of some tradition they have of the great Saladin (Salah-ad-Deen) having married an English Princess in the time of the Crusades, after the conclusion of the peace between Richard I, *Cœur de Lion*, and the famous Kurdish Conqueror. It may be that this idea sprang from the fact of the Plantagenet's proposal to give his sister in marriage to Saladin's brother, Safa-ad-Deen, but on account of the Princess's dislike to being married to a Mohammedan and the Prince's objection to renounce polygamy the arrangement broke through.

In all my official intercourse I found the Moslems more easy to reconcile than their Christian neighbours; and though they knew that I was a native of Mossul, of Chaldean nationality, though I had allied myself to England since childhood, and adhered strictly to my Christian belief and devotions, they always placed their trust in me and listened to my friendly advice.

Most unfortunately since the present Armenian agitation began so much exaggeration has been used and ill-advised remarks made in this country against the Turks, and Moslems in general, by men who have not studied the serious aspect of their vehement utterances that I fear a good deal of harm will accrue therefrom which is not unlikely to engender greater hatred and animosity between the Mohammedans and Christians all over the world and deplorable consequences might arise which it will not be in

the power of the present agitators to allay. Can anything be worse than to read such ill-advised language as has been publicly used lately by two eminent ministers of Christ?—not in conformity with our Lord's preaching in His sermon on the Mount—*Blessed are the Peace-makers*, but advocating a calamitous retribution by fire and sword for the furtherance of greater miseries.

I shall quote what these two dignitaries of the church have said and will leave it to all right minded critics to judge how far they were justified in giving their verdict upon a case before the reported horrors had been sifted and proved.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker was reported to have said, in his sermon on Sunday the 26th of May, that

"he had not attended the meetings on the subject of Armenia, because they were never likely to come to anything practical. It was a time for action, and that action must be the most holy, humane, and righteous war the world had ever known. England should suspend all relations with Turkey, on the ground that Turkey was a truce-breaker, a hypocrite, and the most infamous murderer known to civilisation. With his whole soul he deplored war and denounced it, and prayed for its cessation, but when the sword was the only possible answer to cruelty, oppression, and the most horrible outrages upon all holy relations, he would draw it in the name of the Lord. The resolutions he would move were that Turkey had forfeited the confidence of nations, that England offered to join other European Powers in avenging the horrible wrongs done to mankind in Turkey; that if others would not join her, England would go alone into this war, and rely upon the success of Heaven."

Then it was reported in the "Times" of the 12th June that at a meeting of the "Anglo-Armenian Association" which was held at Grosvenor House in London, presided over by the Duke of Westminster, the following letter was read from the Bishop of Hereford:—

"The Sultan having so insolently rejected the proposals of the Powers, I hope that the whole weight of your committee may be thrown into the endeavour to get the Powers to substitute a more stringent and satisfactory proposal. Everyone must feel that he ought to be dealt with on the plan of the Sibyl with the Sibyllini libri. Every reasonable demand refused or evaded should be promptly followed by a stronger demand, and I sincerely hope that this policy may be adopted on the present occasion."

I have also before me a Pamphlet which has been distributed broadcast by the "Anglo-Armenian Association," headed, "England's Responsibility towards Armenia," which has been got up by the Revd. Malcolm MacColl, Canon of Ripon, for the purpose of creating general

sympathy. I must confess that in his condemnation of the Turkish maladministration I am in full sympathy with him; but I certainly do not agree in many other points which he has brought forward, nor do I think that his severe strictures on the conduct of Ottoman Officials in general, especially that part of them which are directed against his Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, are just. Canon MacColl seems to take it for granted that *all* Consular reports must be infallible and whatever they record ought to be considered indisputable. I wonder what a sensible Englishman would think of reports published abroad about crimes committed in this country if the opinions of Foreign Consuls residing in England are appealed to as the only authority for comment without any legal investigation.

There is no doubt at one time England possessed a great influence with the Sublime Porte; but since the days of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe the apathy of certain British Representatives and foreign jealousies changed the old policy and alienated in a great measure the friendly feeling of the Sultan towards the British, especially in the matter of Delcino. Indeed, both the late Sir Henry Layard and Lord Dufferin did their best to regain the former prestige, but their efforts were frustrated through the publication of the former Ambassador's confidential despatch about Turkish misrule. Had the reforms established after the Crimean war, through the energy of the great Elchi, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, been properly carried out, we should not have had so many serious disorders which have brought the Ottoman Empire to the verge of ruin.

When the reforms were first established by Sultan Abd-ul-majîd not a murmur was raised amongst the different Mohammedan nationalities in Turkey. Christians and Jews were admitted in the Councils of the Empire; non-Moslem evidence was to be received against a Mohammedan; and the right of acquiring land by Europeans was made legal. Indeed, a thorough equality was proclaimed for all the subjects of the Sultan without distinction of

race or religion, and *the code Napoleon* was made the basis of all civil cases in the Ottoman Courts of Justice. As a matter of fact, all those privileges are now in force and they only require proper men to see that they are respected. With regard to Christian evidence when it suited a fanatical Cadhee or Kázi (Judge) he allowed it, but if he thought it benefited him to reject it, he could always find an excuse to disallow it, especially if he had nothing to fear from its consequences.

The Mahkama,—that is to say the spiritual Mohammedan Law Court—was only allowed to hear Moslem ecclesiastical matters and everything in connexion with heritage, like the Court of Chancery in this country; and as Christian evidence is not received in this court because it is purely a religious tribunal, a Christian or Jew has to get two or three good Moslems to witness a Bill of sale or any other legal deed to insure him a right to it. I have never known a case where a Christian could not obtain and depend upon the attestation of a Moslem with whom the giving of evidence even for the benefit of a Christian is considered sacred.

In page 12 of Canon MacColl's Pamphlet he alludes to the sacred Law of Islam that it forbids the Christians to possess arms. This is a law which has not been in force for hundreds of years; and although in some parts of Turkey both Moslems and Christians have been disarmed for the prevention of rebellion or serious riots, I have noticed that in almost all Christian villages in Assyria and Kurdistan all kinds of arms exist. Perhaps, Canon MacColl means the wearing of arms and not merely possessing them. I remember when I was passing in 1877 on a political mission through an Armenian village called Akhsara, on my way to Van, I was escorted by a number of Armenians, who were armed to the teeth, because my Imperial Guard was considered insufficient on account of some brigands of the Haidaranlee Kurdish tribe who were reported to be infesting the neighbourhood.

With regard to what Canon MacColl calls the "fetva" of the "Sheik-ul-Islâm," and its power, it is true the Sultan cannot interfere with, or alter, the sacred law in regard to religious observances and formulas, but he can, nevertheless, make as many changes as he pleases in the constitution of the realm for the benefit and good of Islám, and woe betide any of the Ulemas, including the Sheikh-ul-Islam, if they gainsay the Imperial dictate. By the very fact of the appointment and dismissal of a Sheikh-ul-Islam being under the unlimited power of the Sultan, the fiat of the former must coincide with the will of the Caliph who is the only recognized temporal, as well as spiritual, head of Islam. It is certainly laughable to read Canon MacColl's opinion that a "fetva even from Sheik-ul-Islam absolving his [Sultan] subjects from their allegiance to him would probably make an end of the Ottoman dynasty." It is most likely that such a *fetva* would prove a death warrant to the writer! It is quite absurd to compare the power of "Akbar," of Indian fame, with that of the Sultan of the Ottomans who is considered Wakeel-ul-Haramain—i.e. "custodian of the two holy cities," Mecca and Medina. As for the power of the Shereef of Mecca, he also is considered a vassal of the Sultan and can be dismissed from his office any day his Imperial Majesty deems it necessary to do so.

Canon MacColl, in his zeal for the cause he has espoused, brings forward a sweeping assertion that the honour of all Christian females, under the rule of the Sultan, is in the power of any Mohammedan vagabond who wishes to outrage any of them, and, worse than all, he makes a frightful statement on the authority of a correspondent of the *Times* that there was "scarcely a Christian woman in Armenia who was not raped before she was married."

I wonder how my Armenian friends at Van, Bitlis, Moosh, and other places, will feel when they learn of such unfounded and shameful dishonour cast upon the fair fame of their wives and daughters! Certainly few men have travelled so much amongst Armenian and other Christian nationalities in the mountainous regions of Kurdistan and

Asia Minor and lived amongst them as I have done. I can safely assert that I have never heard of such horrible assertions, nor of any traveller or soldier who dared to misbehave himself in the way Canon MacColl has made it appear in his publication. If certain acts of profligacy and ruffianism, which unhappily occur all over the world, are put down as the general vice of a nation, then there is no country which can be exempted from such a stigma!

I have with much reluctance to touch upon another subject, which I very much regret that a gentleman of Canon MacColl's position should have mentioned; but for the honour of worthy Moslem friends and the reputation of the Christians of Turkey in general, I must say something about it. I allude to unnatural crimes mentioned in pages 74 and 75 of the Pamphlet which I have already quoted. In these cases also there is a good deal of exaggeration, though in the main I regret to admit to the shame of Islám, that this heinous vice is not uncommon in Turkey and Persia: but can the Christians, including the Armenians, be deemed to be exempted from it? I think not; nor can I deny that I have heard of such cases against some European travellers; but on these misdeeds no Christian ought to give his judgment without a thorough proof, and I, for one, have heard so many stories in my life-time which were proved afterwards to be the pure invention of unprincipled men, both in the East and the West, that I now hesitate to believe what I hear against an individual or people. Such vice as the above is punishable under Mohammedan law, but unfortunately it is winked at; and as long as it is allowed to have free course there can be no blessing expected on the country where it is allowed to exist. To the honour of the Arabs, nomad Kurds, and the Chaldean Christians, commonly called Nestorians, be it said that such a crime does not exist, nor is public prostitution allowed, amongst them.

In conclusion, I must say that the Porte deserves to be afflicted with periodical troubles and disorders, seeing that though reforms were introduced years ago it has neglected

to carry them out; and though the Moslem subjects of the Sultan are suffering from want of proper protection to life and property as much as, if not more than, the Christians, their grievances are not thought of in England, but the general cry is *help to the Armenians and no one but the Armenians.* I have no doubt there are very few people in this country who know that of all the Christians in Turkey the Armenians are the most affluent, and possess greater influence and power under the Ottoman Government than any others, excepting the Greeks. They have been pampered by the Porte for generations and invested with honors even to the rank of Pashas. The well-known Nubar Pasha is one of them, and no one can doubt that his power in wealth and influence is unlimited.

As for the reforms submitted to the Sublime Porte lately by the British, French, and Russian-Ambassadors, they are not likely to improve matters, even if they are accepted in full by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, seeing, that the amelioration of the condition of the Moslem and the other Christian nationalities in Turkey is not taken into account, but that the one-sided reforms will doubtless increase the animosity and strife between the different classes of the inhabitants and embitter in a greater measure the hatred of the Mohammedans to the Christians, which will be most deplorable.

Then with regard to the appointment of a European High Commissioner to see that the proposed reforms are carried out, it will be of no advantage to the general weal of the nation and only degrading to the Ottoman Government; I feel sure that even the Christians, after a time, will hate the interference of a foreign dictator in their domestic affairs. What is really wanted is the enforcement of the "Tanzeemat-al-Khaireya,"—two Arabic words which mean *munificent reforms*, which were granted by Sultan Abdalmajeed and which ought now to be in force, if only the Porte would act in conformity with the advice of the British Ambassador, who is always in close communication with British representatives in different parts of the Ottoman Dominions.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

By Abdullah Ash-Shámi.

During my residence in Egypt, I was enabled, through Syrian friends, to become intimately acquainted with Egyptians belonging to various classes of the community.

With the exception of some Sheikhs whose former abuse of authority had been checked, I found the country-people favourable to English rule. So were almost all those in cities who had formerly suffered from oppression. Prejudiced members, however, of the upper classes, especially those whose judicial positions had enriched them with bribes—merchants and agents who formerly oppressed the Fallaheen or had lived by usury—were bitterly opposed to British influence.

This is hardly to be wondered at: people who had prospered by injustice from childhood naturally resent having to work for their living, and the liberty of oppressing others being now curtailed, they are also angry at finding themselves placed politically on the same level with those whom they had always considered their inferiors in civic rights.

On asking the country-people why they preferred the rule of foreigners to that of their own countrymen they would reply:—

"Because under English rule we have first learnt what freedom means; we have begun to realize that life is sweet—we now enjoy the fruits of our labour—relieved from tyranny, compulsory work and general servitude. Our own rulers treated us worse than beasts; now we are treated like human beings. Extortion and injustice have practically ceased, and whilst, formerly, we were often abused and beaten, no one now dares to do the one or the other. We needs therefore feel favourable to our present rulers and thank God for their advent."

To the question whether anything had been done by the British for the improvement of the land, they would reply: "Much, but chiefly in two directions. Extensive irrigation works have been and are still being constructed by means of which the land now yields double its former produce, and yet the taxes on the land have been considerably lightened." I may here add that since my return to Syria, where numerous Egyptian labourers are employed, their answers were identical with those that I have quoted.

On the other hand, when I questioned the men who professed a hatred of the British occupation, they would say: "The English are too imperious and domineering. They look down upon us as if they were lords and we their servants. They are very self-willed and reserved in their intercourse with natives, despising us as fools and treating us with less consideration than animals. They are also severe and relentless. Besides, they occupy all the highest positions and draw the largest salaries."

"But how about their justice?" I would ask.

With a groan the answer would come: "They are said to be just, but we have not seen much of this quality. We only see them exhausting the treasury and the wealth of the country by the large salaries they draw. The treasury is almost empty; the wealth of the land has diminished."

"That is beside the question," I would rejoin. "Do they pervert judgment by receiving bribes?"

"We do not know that they do," the response would then force itself. "They are not tempted to accept bribes; their salaries are more than they can spend."

"Is it not right," I would ask, "that men in a judicial position should be sufficiently paid to rise above the temptation of bribes? Why was bribery so frequent before English rule? Was it not because of the insufficiency of the salaries of officials?"

"To some extent, doubtless it was so," came the almost unwilling reply.

Let me now describe a typical conversation which I had

with the Editor of a very popular paper published in Alexandria. This gentleman's talents and his opportunities for knowing the real feelings of his countrymen give great weight to his words. Having been for some years an honorary correspondent of his paper, I called upon him in further pursuit of the subject into which I was inquiring :

"You know," he said, "opinion is nowhere unanimous—especially is this the case here. I should say, however, that the bulk of the native population is favourable to the English, but not so are the people of rank and influence, and between these two extremes there are a good many who are indifferent. The reason why the upper classes are hostile to the English is obvious enough."

"Undoubtedly," I said; "but why is the lower class, which is the most numerous, so favourable to them?"

"Because under the influence of the English," he replied, "they have gained privileges they never dreamt of before. They are now allowed to taste something of the sweetness of freedom."

"Is the English occupation in your opinion good or bad for Egypt as a whole? Is it a cause of advance or of decline in the country?"

"Undoubtedly a cause of advance. Just rulers never can be the cause of a country's decline. And I must besides confess that they make more competent rulers than we natives. They execute the laws more efficiently and successfully suppress any sort of tyranny. But, mind you, I am speaking collectively. I believe there are a good many natives who, if they held responsible positions, would rule as well as the English—chiefly those who have been educated in European schools and colleges."

"I understand," I replied with an air of satisfaction, "but allow me to venture on one more question for which I must beg your pardon in advance. Why is it that *you* devote, at least, one whole page of your widely-circulated paper to articles against the English, when, at the same time, you admit that they give just judgment and are more

fitted to rule than the natives and that their occupation of Egypt is the cause of this country's advance?"

"I am not the least offended," said he. "The reason is not far to seek. An editor is under obligation to his subscribers and must provide them with such articles as will suit their taste. At the same time, let me explain that, though the English are just and almost without blame in political matters, yet they are unwise in other matters, which had they had the wisdom to avoid, they would have gained the respect and friendly feelings of all. They are haughty, arrogant, imperious, have no consideration for the feelings of the natives, and invariably play the lord over us. They are contemptuous of us and prejudiced in favour of their own race. Year after year some native is expelled from official employment and an Englishman is put in his place. These are the sort of things that make so many people intolerant of their influence."

I really believe that the above specimens of conversations with Egyptians sum up the case in favour of the English, whilst also explaining the cause of their unpopularity among the higher and more educated natives generally.

The following extract from the evidently well-informed "*Egyptian Herald*" throws further light on a situation, the early solution of which is now forcing itself on the immediate attention of Europe:

"The parties that demand special attention in this country are the following:—1. The Mussulmans, who form the great majority of the people, being at least five-sixths of the whole. 2. The Jacobite Copts who form, so to say, a simple extension of the preceding party. 3. The European element which is in general under the more or less preponderating influence of France. 4. The party favourable to the occupation, which is uppermost in the administration and embraces the dissenting minorities of all the other parties, under the direction of the majority of the Anglo-Egyptians.

The Mussulman element is represented by *El Moayyad*, *El Nil* and *El Barid*, all published in the Arabic language; and are aided in their task by a number of small journals, of which the most prominent are *El Fayoum* and *El Forsat il Awkat*.

The Jacobite Copt party has as its organ *El Watan* published in Arabic.

The European element is specially represented by *Le Journal Egyptien*, *Le Phare d'Alexandrie* and *L'Echo d'Orient*.

The party favouring the occupation appears to be defended by three journals, *The Egyptian Gazette*, which appears partly in English and partly in French; *Le Progrès* in French only; and *El Mokattam* in Arabic.

To the above must be added a number of papers which have for their origin the

alliance of two of the parties named, thus *El Ahram* is in political colour Franco-Ottoman; and *El Falah*, is Russo-Ottoman. These two journals advocate the interests of France and of Russia among the Arab populations of Africa and Asia. Both of them are held in esteem by the Mussulman public, and are very serviceable to the two great powers they support.

Among what we may name the anti-English journals we must not omit the *Memphis* which appears in French and Arabic, the latter portion being under the editorship of Mr. Mahomed Massoud, an Egyptian journalist, who promises by his ability to take a high position in the profession he has adopted.

In addition to the journals named there are many smaller ones which are attached to the interests of the different parties, and some to which we may allude as being edited in accordance with the personal predilections of their chiefs, and distinguish themselves by attacking the Ottoman Empire and the august person of H. I. M. the Sultan. These journals seek to avoid the wrath of the public by spreading reports intended to lead the public to believe that they have the support of the agents of the occupation, an assertion that cannot be true.

From what we have said we may draw several conclusions, but for the present we shall only say, first that only one journal among all those we have referred to is published and that one only partly in English: secondly, that there is no Arabic Journal which undertakes as its special mission the defence of the ideas and interests of the Anglo-Ottoman party. Thirdly, there is no journal published by an Englishman to represent the general interests of the English Nation, or to provide for Englishmen a source of information as to the opinions of those, who rightly or wrongly view the occupation with a different eye to that of those who regard it as a necessity."

The following condensed translation of a letter, in the same journal, on the Anglo-Egyptian Administration, from the Arabic, by a former Mamour Markaz, or Chief of a District, is also worth reading:

"It is a mistake to say that the Egyptians are incapable of governing themselves. All through this century they have led their country to the satisfaction of all the nations interested in the tranquillity of the Nile Valley. As for arguments founded on the troubles from the rebellion of Arabi, similar events occur in other countries, without anyone taxing their peoples as incurably incapable. Indeed, in view of the special condition of their country, the Egyptians are alone qualified to give equal satisfaction to the legitimate interests of the native populations and of the Foreign Colonies.

Those who administer Egypt in the name of a powerful foreign nation are driven in their own despite, to monopolise every thing in the interests of their country. This brings them into warfare with other countries' agents, and ends by depriving them of all prestige. Egyptians, on the contrary, give umbrage to none of the great Powers; everyone is interested in supporting them in their attempts at administrative organisation. Inability to govern Egypt attaches no more to the British than to the French, nor to any other Great Power, whose agents may be tempted to mix a dose of politics with their administration. Nations that have no special aims on Egypt, *e.g.*, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, are, on the contrary, in a condition to render service administratively with the Egyptians because they do not nourish any idea of aggrandisement at our expense.

The existing difficulties of Government are the necessary consequence of Egypt's exceptional position among the nations; our unsatisfactory administrative condition has arisen from International Politics. Contrary currents surge without our Valley and oppose themselves to all peace within it. The different nations interested will never accept the establishment in Egypt of a people who could at any moment endanger their position. A glance at the map of the country explains that Egypt's present position forces all the nations to distrust the great Power that occupies the banks of the Nile. From Alexandria to Port-Said, the coast is inaccessible owing to shoals; from Suez to Souakim it is bleak and barren. The western frontier is defended by impenetrable

deserts, and so with the southern border, where, in addition, the Wady-Halfa fortress makes any entrance into the Nile-Valley absolutely impossible. The only routes for entering the Delta are: 1st, that which runs from Alexandria to Kafr-el-Zayat; 2nd, the Suez Canal. Now, everyone knows that the first can, in a few days, by raising works at Kafr-et-Dawar, be made quite impregnable. The Canal, we know, can by the simple expedient of sinking one or two ships in it, be rendered innavigable. In occupation of the Nile-Valley—as we see, one of the strongest military positions in the world,—England would become the veritable mistress of the globe. She would have an unparalleled water-way all to herself, whereby to communicate with the great Central African Lakes, right up to Tanganika, and with the countries at present most coveted by international commerce. The Suez Canal, uniting the most populous countries in the universe, would then also be under her hand as well as the Red Sea, which would become a veritable British lake. Hence the fears unceasingly expressed in certain Mussulman centres for Jeddah and the Hejáz. Add to all this that Ismailia and Jerusalem are on the point of being connected by a railway, thus bringing Palestine and the Holy places to the feet of the British Lion, and we can understand the reason for the jealousy entertained towards Britain by all the Powers, ever since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Their seeming silence does not mean that they will eventually accept any change, of any kind, in the *status quo*. Existing international institutions are indestructible as long as the European colonies are such as they are; the power which supports the Khedivate will live as long as the Ottoman Khalifate (to the immense advantage of modern civilisation) is a part of the European concert. In these circumstances, any change in the form of the Egyptian Government and in the internal administration of the country has become, so to say, impossible. Thus, all the pains of the agents of the occupation to change the country's fundamental institutions in any particular may be counted labour lost. Of such pains as these the only result has been and will be, an endless state of trouble and unrest."

Another condensed letter on "France and Islám" says:

"For some years certain French patriots have attempted to direct public opinion in favour of Islam. In Tonquin, Dahomey, and the whole of Western and Central Africa, France finds millions professing the law of the Prophet. At the end of the Madagascar expedition, she will add more than 1,000,000 to the number of her Muslim subjects. On these she counts to crush the pride of the Hova Government, formerly so cruel to the Mussulman Coast tribes that were worse armed than its own soldiers. It is the plan that has been discovered by certain administrators at Tonquin and French Indo-China, towards lowering the pride of the mandarins. The native Mussulmans are being supported against the Buddhists who are ever intriguing with the Celestials of the Chinese frontier. Thus the political balance is maintained without any trouble. One could do the same in Dahomey, if the majority of the idolatrous population forgot the late events. Remember the joy of the Algerian sharpshooters who accompanied General Dodds, when they found themselves fighting for the deliverance of their coreligionists of Dahomey for whom king Behamzin's folly had ever invented the cruellest tortures. Such is certainly the case of the Algerians under General Duchesnes, who has set out to crush the pride of Queen Ranavala's ministers.

"France, by establishing herself in the north of Africa, has become one of the most important of the Mussulman powers. Indeed, after Turkey, she is the first ARABIC power in the world. A policy which would succeed in attracting the Arabs of Algeria, Tunis, and Senegal, should, as a result, grant to France the armies necessary for the conquest of the rich countries of Central Africa. On the contrary, an ill-advised policy of embittering the Mussulman populations might find them influenced by an authority, spiritual and political (e.g., the Sahara religious confraternities) affecting their consciences as well as their wills.

"France has decided on preventing any other influence than her own being exercised on the territories extending from Senegambia to Algeria and, especially, on those between Dahomey and Lake Chad. There French influence will have to reckon with seven important Mussulman Kingdoms. Among these the most powerful are Wadai, Baguirmi

and Bornou, having, according to the best geographers, a population of, at least, 32,000,000. The other Kingdoms are still pagan; such as those of Mossi, Tombo, and Gourma with a population of about 5,000,000; but among these Islam has already spread, and all of them will, in a few years, follow the Law of the Prophet. How would it be possible to found a firm Colonial Empire in a country of such size and population, unless one succeeds in securing the favour of its courageous people of warlike habits? In a speech recently delivered at the Sorbonne by (naval) Lieutenant Mizan the intrepid explorer of Central Africa retraced the ground-plan of the Franco-African policy of the future. He said, *inter alia*, of the Central African Foulani:

"'For several years I have been able to study these countries and the history of their conquest by the Mussulmans. I have been able to see for myself and to judge of the procedure adopted by the Foulani to spread their power, and have been thus convinced that, in our colonial enterprises, we had models to follow. I have been enabled to see how false are all the legends scattered over Europe, of the destruction of villages, carrying of populations into slavery, and forcible conversion to Islam. The work pursued by the Foulani is one of civilization, and their presence is a benefit to this part of Africa. Among them religious fanaticism is unknown, neither are they actuated by the idea of proselytism. They remember the Koranic principle '*no violence in religion*; the right way is distinct from that of those who go astray.'"

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

By Anglo-African.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer," says the *Times* report of the debate on June 13, "thought it right to say on behalf of the Government that they recognised the high motives by which the hon. member who had just sat down (Mr. Burdett-Coutts*) and his colleagues had been inspired in the work in which they had been engaged. (Hear, hear.) He should be very sorry if those who had shared in that work should imagine that their motives had been misunderstood or not appreciated by the country." Sir Edward Grey, in his opening statement, also declared that the Company, as the pioneers of British influence in East Africa, had improved the condition of the native inhabitants and suppressed the slave trade. "Undoubtedly," he repeated, in reply to an expression of dissent (which was only Mr. H. Labouchere's); "they have done a great deal in this direction; they have laboured to suppress the slave trade."

The generous testimony of Sir William Harcourt to the motives that inspired the Company in its undertaking furnishes an honourable contrast to the ungracious and unjust aspersions uttered by some of his colleagues in another place, and will be the more appreciated as coming spontaneously from a Minister who has more than once frankly declared his opposition to that extension of empire to which the Company *nolens volens* found itself committed from the very outset of its career. Whilst acknowledging the sacrifice of personal convictions necessitated by a situation which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not responsible for creating, the opinion may be hazarded that neither Parliament nor the nation would have demurred to a more liberal recognition of the Company's services and expenditure than that which has been accorded them. The

* A Director of the Imperial British East Africa Company.

settlement, however, has been accepted by the Company, and calls for no further criticism.

The arrangements made by Government for the administration of the territories to be taken over from the Company bear a temporary and provisional stamp that deprecates serious criticism. As a stage in the right direction they will be generally received with satisfaction. The Rubicon is passed, and with the inauguration of the railway we may expect a more perfect and homogeneous administrative system than the present arrangement is calculated to produce. The continuance, for the present, of the Sultanate of Zanzibar over the two small islands which are left to it, is no doubt due to official timidity in regard to the question of slavery, which it is understood is to be abolished by some process mild and gradual. But the position of the mainland territory—the ten-mile strip comprised in the Company's concession—and the islands of Lamu, Manda, and Patta, as well as the port of Kismayu, would appear to be somewhat anomalous. This territory will, very probably, be administered by her Majesty's Government as part of the general mainland behind it. But the Sultan of Zanzibar will still be its sovereign, with all the concomitants of that sovereignty in respect of the ex-territoriality of foreigners, the legal existence of slavery, and the *régime* of Mahomedan law administered by native judges. It is to be presumed that these judges or *kathis* will continue to be appointed by the Sultan, and that as heretofore the Sultan will be the final court of appeal from their decision in regard to slaves and other matters governed by Mahomedan law. If this be so, the taint of "dual administration" will not yet have been quite removed. The Sultan of Zanzibar being still the sovereign of this coastal belt placed under British jurisdiction, of course it is the Sultan's flag, and not that of Great Britain, that will fly there. The status of slavery must continue as in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Concerning the administrative evils of the ex-territorial system under which foreigners are placed, and by

which they enjoy immunity from taxation, and jurisdiction other than that of their own consuls, it is unnecessary to dilate, but the conclusion cannot be resisted that, in this and other respects, the administration would be at once simplified and rendered more efficient by a transfer of sovereignty similar to that executed by Germany on the adjacent coast. This, however, will doubtless come to pass before long, and we are willing to admit that the arrangement as it stands is a considerable step forward, and that there may be good reasons for moving gradually.

The Protectorate of Witu, which on the withdrawal of the East Africa Company in 1893 was placed under the Sultan of Zanzibar, is to be included in the general scheme of administration applicable to the mainland between the coast and Uganda. The result of course will be that the country will revert to the legal status in which the Company left it—that is, that the status of slavery, revived by the Sultan, will again be abolished, and that the agreement as to the final emancipation of all slaves on next Queen's Birthday will be revived and carried into effect in due course; also that the *régime* of British law will be restored and Mahomedan law and judges, established by the Sultan of Zanzibar, abolished. Further up the coast, at Kismayu, slavery has been legally abolished since 1876, when, in gratitude for the withdrawal of the Egyptian expedition, Sultan Barghash was induced by Sir John Kirk to decree its abolition ("God having brought about the departure of the Egyptians from our dominions in Kismayu"). The stern-wheel steamer "Kenia" is lying in the Juba near this place, and no doubt the navigation of this river, so important administratively as well as commercially, which was so successfully inaugurated by the Company, will soon be resumed with good results. The freedom of this waterway would be important if only for the encouragement of the large agricultural colony of runaway slaves at Gosha, some distance up, who, if secured against the depredations of the Somalis, will prove a valuable factor in promoting the

development of this region. There will be doubtless some trouble in dealing with the Somalis, who interpose themselves between the interior and the coast and have hitherto prevented all commercial intercourse with the Boran Gallas except what passed through their own hands as middlemen. In the interests of the country in general the Somalis must be compelled to surrender this monopoly and conform themselves to regular government. The Galla country is too important a region to be isolated from all communication with the coast by the selfishness and fanaticism of a disorderly and intractable tribe of marauders. The two great navigable waterways of the Juba and Tana afford an outlet for the commerce of the Galla country which we may expect to see utilised with valuable results.

The districts between Kikuyu (the furthest station of the Company in the interior) and Uganda—comprising not only part of Kikuyu, but Masailand, Kavirondo, and Usoga—were placed under the control of the Commissioner of Uganda last year, but it is to be assumed that all this territory will now be included under the coast administration. And this suggests at once the manifest inconvenience of the administration being placed under the Consul General at Zanzibar in his capacity of Commissioner. Zanzibar is an island in the Indian Ocean 120 miles distant from Mombasa, and it is at the latter place, not the former, that the seat of Government should at once be placed. Mombasa is not only the chief port of British East Africa, the gate through which commercial and other traffic for Uganda and the interior generally, passes, and the starting point of the projected railway, but it is far healthier than Zanzibar, and affords moreover admirable and spacious anchorage in its land-locked harbour for her Majesty's ships. As the railway proceeds, and population increases in the interior, the advantages of a central point like Machakos (250 miles from the coast), possessing a fine climate and in the midst of a fertile and friendly country, will recommend it as the seat of administration for the whole district

between the coast and the lake. For the present it would be most desirable that the Consul General should be resident not at Zanzibar but at Mombasa, and the official requirements of the former place (now much diminished) would be sufficiently met by the residence there of a consul or vice-consul. Independently of all these considerations, it is by no means certain that the imposition upon a diplomatic officer of the responsibilities of administration can be more than a temporary and preparatory measure.

The first work that will probably engage the attention of the administration—as it is essential and pressing—is the construction of a line of telegraph to Uganda following as nearly as practicable the route along which the railway is to be constructed. It is a serious reflection that events in that important region can only be known in London, at the earliest, three months after their occurrence. It is obvious, moreover, that crises may from time to time arise in that critical position in regard to which it is of importance that the Commissioner should be able to obtain prompt instructions from home. The danger of French adventure on the Upper Nile may, perhaps, be dismissed as remote and improbable; but there are other questions that the Commissioner may be called upon to deal with promptly, and in connection with which his responsibility ought to be limited. It is certain that Kabarega and his Arab allies will not submit without desperate resistance to abandon slave-trading and slave-raiding. "As I consider," Colonel Colvile wrote to Mr. Hardinge on December 6, 1894, (Blue Book, Africa No. 7, 1895, page 138), "the pacification of Unyoro and consequently the safety of the Uganda frontier to be absolutely dependent on Kabarega's deposition or submission, it will probably be necessary, with a view to hastening these events, to make periodical expeditions of a similar character [to that recently made by Captain Thurston], although, bearing in mind the well-known difficulty of surprising savages, especially in their own country, it can hardly be hoped that other attempts will be

so completely successful as this one." Kabarega is a serious factor to be dealt with, and although the public may have every confidence in the experience, discrétion, and ability of the new Commissioner of Uganda (Mr. E. J. L. Berkeley), still the necessity is urgent for the provision of telegraphic communication with the coast to enable him to report events and refer to London for instructions in emergencies by no means unlikely to arise in that important region.

With regard to the future of British East Africa it is perhaps premature to speculate. Two economic results may, however, be predicated with tolerable certainty as likely to follow from regular government and development. Millions of acres of fertile soil are now unoccupied, through causes incidental to the conditions of aboriginal races unrestrained by paramount authority. The land which is occupied and more or less cultivated, is made to produce little more than the needs of existence demand. All this must be altered with the advance of civilization. Security will promote increased production in the second case, and this will be further stimulated by the incentives of commercial exchange. Markets will thus be opened to which limitations can hardly be placed. The fertile lands now lying waste will provide room for population which, under settled government, will rapidly increase according to that physical law to which Buckle (*History of Civilization in England*, chapter 2) ascribes the multiplication of population in Egypt,—"the people multiplied rapidly, because while the soil increased their supplies, the climate lessened their wants." It is obvious that the wide margin between the produce of the soil and the wants of the inhabitants will form a source of supplies for the hungry north, and will be a most important addition to the food resources of our population at home, which they will be able to purchase with their manufactures.

THE TRANSVAAL, THE SWAZIS AND THE WAR WITH MAGATO.

By A. G. C. Van Duyl.

If I had any predilection for the enigmatical headings that are now the fashion, I might name this paper, "*the top and the base*," or "*marring and making*." For in South-African affairs, England (—by which I mean the Authorities, imperial, colonial, or other, that profess to manage them—) continually mars what she wishes to make, and makes what she wishes to mar, and this chiefly because she starts from the supposition that the base of the South-African structure is the top—which can be easily shaken off, or modified—and that the top is the ever-continuing base.

Till the middle of this century, South-Africa claimed little notice. The world at large was aware that there existed such a continent; but only a small number knew anything more; and even this knowledge may not have extended further than the belief that "South-Africa" would afford a career to a few, not too unpromising, young men, if able and willing "to rough it." For English people this might be at Cape-town itself and some adjoining districts or ports. They would look for their future in commercial pursuits. Young Dutchmen might find it among the emigrant farmers who spoke their own language and who seemed sorely in need of men possessing some knowledge and able to use it.

This continued for years; and things might have remained so for many years more if the Cape Authorities, by their policy of marring, had not forced outsiders to look somewhat more closely into their acts.

At first, it was only now and then that something occurred which awakened a slightly more general interest. It must have been about 1863 that we, journalists,—I was then Editor of a paper in Holland—were worried by not over-nicely printed pamphlets—people were very poor then

in Bloemfontein—about differences between the Orange Free State and the authorities in Cape Colony or elsewhere. If I say "worried" I mean nothing unfriendly; I wish only to characterise the situation as it stood for the general reader. We had just then the big American War and more than enough of other pressing matter on hand, when we were called upon to interest the public in the squabbles of such worthies as Waterboer and Kok, and in the future of that desolation which was called Griqualand. It would not do. The question had not yet developed into what gave it, later on, such a significance: it was not yet the big diamond-fight. For outsiders it was extremely difficult to understand what it really was about.

Greater interests were at stake in the world, and South-Africa scarcely got a hearing.

I have often thought since, that diamonds may have been in this question from the beginning. I know, of course, that the first discovery is generally dated 1867. But there are some anterior indications—I heard of them in Transvaal itself and here from an old digger—that the missionaries of Pniël occasionally got precious stones from the natives and must have known something of what afterwards were the "wet" diggings.* This may be left to the investigation of historians. But diamonds or no diamonds, and leaving the missionaries alone (notwithstanding the circumstance that wherever there was mischief their overzeal was almost always at the bottom of it),—the authorities of course were prompted by the policy which sprung up as soon as the first emigrants left Cape Colony. This was the policy of "hemming them in." They should not be allowed to go to the seacoast and even inland they should be left as little free as possible to go where they liked. I have not to speak of what had happened already when they went to Natal and how they were harassed some years afterwards. This is well known.

* The wet diggings are those in and on the banks of the Vaal river. The dry diggings are the real mines of diamonds.

But it may be observed that already then this "hemming in" only contributed to make a unity of what at first hung rather loosely together. More especially is what occurred in Griqualand, - ending with the annexation of the Diamond-fields,—a good instance of "making by marring." For it was by this annexation that the Free-Staters found their true future. It gave them an extensive market; and the country which till then had been very poor, became almost wealthy. It was then that the Free State was really *made*.

Shortly after the formal annexation of the Diamond-fields, the Rev. Mr. Burgers succeeded Mr. Pretorius as President of Transvaal (1872). President Burgers was not the first man who saw that Transvaal could never attain its natural development unless it had its own communication with the seacoast. This must have been seen by many others. Indeed, nearly every farmer who had to travel for weeks, only to sell—not very advantageously—his wool, must have felt the want; and that it had been seen already from the beginning is proved by the very remarkable explorations of Trichard and indeed by the first occupation of Natal. But Burgers was the man who tried to give the scheme a practical shape under existing circumstances. In 1875 he went to Europe to conclude a treaty with Portugal and to raise a loan for the railway to Delagoa-bay—a "*railway*" also because of the well-known difficulty that no cattle could live upon the road between the plateau and the seacoast.

I need not say that the burghers of Transvaal and their president were not the only ones to perceive these advantages and that immediately the policy of "hemming in" again came into play.

There was the scheme of annexing Delagoa-bay to England, frustrated by the decision of President MacMahon. Then came the scheme of the Confederation of all the South-African States, and, after this fell through, the annexation of Transvaal itself. When this began to assume an ominous look, negotiations with Portugal for a railway

were started, coupled with a tariff which would have made the exit practically useless. Considering what had been done, and is still tried, to mar the projects of the South-African Republic, it sounds almost cynical to hear that Mr. Morier (the English Minister at the Court of Lisbon) said: "It is only by free access to the sea that the Transvaal can develop its great natural capacities." This had always been true; but it was only enunciated by an English functionary in 1879, when Transvaal was annexed and there was every prospect that the other (Portuguese) end of the free access would be practically in safe (English) hands. When circumstances altered, of course, there was no longer any question of this "making": it then again became the turn of "marring."

Nobody will pretend that in these cases all the wrongs were invariably on one side. In human affairs they never are. Greater or smaller faults may have been committed which induced the adversaries to believe that, after all, it was they who were in the right. And, most certainly, by the general public in England, very grave faults were *believed* to have been committed. That this could easily be shown to be slander,—was, indeed, *proved* to be slander by careful English historians,—does not make much difference. Their books were not extensively read; and as to the Transvaal men themselves, they scarcely knew what was said of them in English papers or at philanthropic meetings; and if they had known, they would have been at a loss how to defend themselves.

But it is not a question whether a somewhat more or less plausible case could be made out for the annexation; it is not a question whether President Burgers really was the right man for an extremely difficult situation and whether he did not commit faults which made the case easier for the adversary. The question is whether the adversary did not want "to mar," no matter how the case stood, and whether the outcome of this marring was not again a "making,"—the real making of the South-African Republic.

It has been said, and is still I think believed by many, that all would have gone smoothly with the annexation, if there had not been what are called "sad mistakes in the appointment of functionaries." This may be readily conceded for it really means nothing. The circumstances were of such a nature that almost any appointment of functionaries would have been a mistake.

If the real base of the South-African structure was an English-speaking population with some foreign elements, Dutch or other, on the top of the pyramid, Government by English functionaries might be comparatively easy; and it would perhaps not matter much, if there sometimes occurred a "sad mistake." People would have tried to tide it over, or have left the country for other parts, as they did at the time of the great emigration and many times since. But even in Cape Colony itself and after so many Dutch people left it, the bulk of the fixed population,—the people that are attached to the soil, the base of the structure,—is not of English extraction. Even Cape Colony itself is not simply governed by English functionaries. How could this be possible in Transvaal? No nomination whatever would have been agreeable there, and in fact, "the annexation" could never really be accomplished.

It should not be forgotten that the annexation took the Transvaal burghers wholly by surprise. It is quite needless to go into details and to ask what was done and could have been done by the men, who then had charge of the interests of the State. But whoever has even a faint idea of the nature of the country knows that a population of perhaps ten thousand heads of families, dispersed over an area as large as France and Italy together, could not do much immediately, when their leaders had given in. They rightly tried what they could before resorting to armed resistance. They first exhausted all other means to prove that the annexation not only was a great mistake, but also something far worse.

It is quite certain that, in the end, this marring nearly

made an independent South-Africa, and would have made it, if the Home Government had not wisely reversed its policy and made peace with the emigrants over the Vaal. In any case, this marring was really the making of the South-African Republic.

I firmly believe that, with their sturdy population, it is the two Dutch, or rather Dutch-speaking, republics—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal—that will prove to be the real, solid base of the South-African structure, the backbone of the whole future commonwealth, the part upon whose strength and steady, healthy growth depend the strength and healthy growth of the whole body. Those who are now children may live to see this, and "to realize" how short-sighted former generations have been in trying to manage circumstances which are much too strong not to manage themselves.

That all these things can scarcely be "realized" by the average English reader is nothing to be wondered at.

The English, as a rule, whatever may be their very high qualities, are not proficient in foreign languages. They certainly are not much given to reading foreign papers. It has struck me that, even when travelling, they do not seem to give consideration to the sayings and doings of foreigners, to be really curious as to their ways and manners, or to take any great pains to understand them. Generally speaking, they are self-sufficient. This may be the defect of a very great quality. *Chaque qualité a son défaut.* Or this may have its source in linguistic inability or neglect. If one has only a superficial knowledge, or none, of a people's history and literature, many things which might interest one, when moving amongst them, necessarily cannot have much meaning. I leave it to others to investigate this further. I only wish to state what I believe to be a fact.

But if it be the fact, it becomes clear why most Englishmen can only have a faint and, almost always, an incorrect impression of what is said and thought by "foreigners" of their actions, or the actions of their authorities.

As to understanding the people who are called the "Boers" this is quite out of the question. First of all there is the exceeding difficulty of mastering their language. And however much it might be wished that more thought were given to the study of foreign languages, nobody would be so unreasonable as to ask an Englishman to begin with Dutch, unless in very exceptional cases. But the fact remains, that it is nearly hopeless to thoroughly understand South-African affairs, and the bulk of the population in that very interesting part of the world, if one does not understand this language. And even then!

One evening in 1888, sitting in the Union-club in Pretoria, with three or four English friends, who had lived there for more than thirty years, and who were well-educated men,—engineers and physicians,—I was introduced to the oldest resident of the place—also an Englishman. I chanced to make an observation on the ready wit of these Boers, of which I think I must, just then, have had some instances. My friends looked quite astonished, and seemed inclined to say that I must be half-crazy to think so. Yet many of these Boers not only have the most ready mother-wit I ever admired, but when they speak in earnest they also often express such profound reflections that even clever foreigners might wish these thoughts had been theirs. My friends, having spent almost a life-time amongst these people, had never discovered this.

I should add that these gentlemen—very characteristically,—knew almost nothing of the language except the most necessary phrases in daily use, and that they seemed not to be aware of the fact that people may often be ignorant of a lot of things, generally known to well-educated men, and yet be extremely acute in the more restricted sphere of thoughts in which they live.

There is also another and, perhaps, greater difficulty. Even a born Dutchman, fresh to the country, may not be able at once to understand the Boers, not because of their dialect, for all that is said upon this head,—for a purpose—

is not worth refuting, but because in ordinary conversation they slur over some part of Dutch words. But even then the Boers are soon understood. It is true that in Cape-town and adjoining districts, the so-called kitchen-Dutch spoken there is but a poor representative of the mother-tongue. The farther one moves from Cape-town, however, the purer is the language; and if a Boer says his prayers, or preaches, or speaks in public, or writes, he uses —with occasional mistakes—the pure Dutch of the Dutch Bible—the book that the Boers always took with them during their migrations,—often the only one they ever read, but that they read daily. The real difficulty is that these people have for generations been persecuted, slandered, betrayed and overreached by foreigners, white and black; and, therefore, if they know how to speak admirably—as I have often heard them do—they even know better how to keep silence; and before they give themselves away—before they give you their innermost thoughts and the opportunities of really learning to understand them and their ways, they must know you very well and be sure that you are a friend who can be trusted.

How, under these circumstances, foreigners who have lived only a few weeks in the country, can suppose that they are able to tell you all about it and about the ways and manners of the people, is more than I can explain; and how their sayings and doings can be rightly judged by others not knowing the country at all, not able to read a word of the language, and living at such a distance from them, and in different surroundings, has always been to me a hopeless puzzle.

But to return. Already in 1877, the year of the annexation, this event made a much greater commotion than can well have been perceived in England. Not only upon the continent of Europe, but also in America, meetings were held and protests drawn up; newspapers wrote their leaders and paragraphs upon the matter, and generally expressed the opinion that the English authorities were in the wrong; to

say the least. But the real facts of the case were not very well known; the different measures to thwart the development of Transvaal were not yet seen in their true light and as a whole; and the Transvaalers themselves seemed to take it very quietly. An impression may have been created, or at least strengthened, that they were an unruly set, neither knowing their own mind, nor easily governed, even by their own well-intentioned men. So this agitation gradually subsided. But in 1881, as soon as it was perceived how matters really stood, it grew into a perfect storm, all over Europe and in the United States. There scarcely was a paper which did not go into the question, and I do not believe there was one which did not side with the Boers. Again there were meetings and protests, in almost every country, with schemes for help which might have proved awkward even for mighty England. In some cases it needed very wise and strong heads to keep others from doing some very unwise things. I do not think that even then it was fully known in England how great the agitation really was. That there was a great commotion in South Africa became, of course, clear; but it is not generally known that it was strong enough to make it doubtful whether reinforcements could be brought up at all, had the war continued.

Be this as it may, it was the making of the South-African Republic; and in the whole of South Africa a community of feeling was awakened, which formerly did not exist, or in any case had not been perceptible. As to the world at large, what till then had been rather considered a private English affair at once became all the world's business. Every event of any importance in South-Africa is now commented upon by the leading papers and, as a rule, if there is any question of sympathy, it is for the republican side. Most certainly the policy of "hemming in," whenever now put forward, does not find a single Continental supporter. On the contrary, the belief is gaining ground that this policy is neither for the general interest, nor for those of British South-Africa itself; and it seems as if the time were not far distant when people will try to put a stop to it.

The schemes of Mr. Cecil Rhodes always looked to me of such a mixed character that I did not believe I could ever understand them. I am not myself a man of business and Mr. Rhodes is the shrewdest, or nearly the shrewdest, business-man of all the extremely sharp business-men in South-Africa. I do not pretend to fathom him. There may be politics in his mind, in so much as the plan of the Chartered Company may have been made palatable by showing that it would be a good thing if Transvaal were "hemmed in" on its northern frontier. There may be more of this in connexion with Central Africa. But for the rest it looks a good deal like a gigantic speculation. One hears of the manipulation of shares and how gold may be made out of paper in undertakings "promoted" for gain. But this is not the professed object of the Company.

People knowing next to nothing about South-Africa dream about thousands of square miles acquired for civilization. But land is not the same all over the world. During my trip to South-Africa, I saw hundreds of square miles of dust (I could not call it sand), or of rock barely covered with a thin layer. Sometimes there was no water at all; and when it fell it suddenly disappeared in some mysterious manner. In other parts there was plenty of water, but also plenty of fever. We once went to see some farms,—mere patches of ground measured up for sale and future cultivation. We travelled fourteen days in a waggon, and during ten days I saw no other men than those I had with me, except some stray Kaffirs. Thousands of acres were so thickly covered with stones that only a goat could walk over them. They were excellent for sheep, I was told, as the stones retained the moisture, and there was good grass between them.* In short, speaking generally, the country is not at all like any other, and if much may be done, in the way of colonization, this can never be done in the manner, for instance, adopted in the United States. It will need much time, perseverance and capital. This seems to be most essentially the case in

* This is not the ideal of a farm and renders its division even among a few colonists out of the question.

Mashonaland. If its useless wildernesses could be taken away, the remainder might make a nice country. I am under the impression that if the burghers of Transvaal did not trouble themselves about Mashonaland, it was because they considered it only good—speaking generally—as an occasional grazing-ground during some months of the year.

As for the gold and other rich mines, of which we have heard so much for many years, people would like to see something tangible. I am no expert. But one of my countrymen, formerly an Australian digger, who has been all over Mashonaland, and who has had ample means of investigating all the gold-bearing districts, persists in declaring that the really "paying" mines have been fully worked out, centuries ago. It is his firm conviction that in Mashonaland nothing will be found like an average good gold mine in Johannesburg.

What is, however, well known, is that there was an understanding, that if Transvaal did not interfere with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, it would obtain Swazi-land, not because it was really wanted (unless, as formerly, for an occasional grazing-ground, hired from the Swazis), but because the Boers never could have peace on that side of their country till the Swazi-tribe was brought under a regular government. It was generally conceded that the geographical position of the country made it impossible for any other nation to undertake this than the Government of the South African Republic. It is also well known that the S. A. Republic kept its promise as to Mashonaland, but that some years had to pass before the other party somewhat reluctantly fulfilled its obligations; and that, in the meantime, reckless men did all they could to bring about a state of affairs so precarious that even the Transvaalers doubted if what might have been arranged some years before without the least difficulty could now be effected without bloodshed. It speaks volumes for the tact of the Transvaal delegates and their talent in handling Kaffirs, that, after some anxious days, things were quietly settled.

But the delegates had scarcely returned before they knew that the "hemming-in" policy had again come into play.

The country of two chiefs, Zambane and Umbegise, between Swaziland and Amatongaland had been annexed by the Governor of Zululand! In 1889, speaking of a railway plan of one Colonel Cooper, I wrote: "The colonel does not seem to know that Amatongaland has its frontier upon the Pongolo and that upon the other side of that river are two chiefs, quite independent of the Amatongas, who long ago would have 'eaten' one another (that is to say Zambane, being the stronger would have 'eaten' Umbegise) *if the Boers had not prevented this by taking them both under their protection* and that these chiefs have given almost every concession that can be given to some gentlemen of the Piet Retief district." I believe this is still the case.

At any rate, I do not understand how these Kaffir-chiefs so suddenly came under British protection, whilst it was generally held that this part was in the Transvaal sphere of influence. Everybody, however, knows that this move is considered a very unfriendly act in Transvaal and the reason is quite clear. Even in England this last stroke does not seem to be universally admired, but then it is said in defence that if Transvaal was allowed to push quietly on to Kosi Bay, it *might* give rise to international complications. Well, perhaps it might in a very distant future and under circumstances which nobody can yet foresee. But here is a last instance of "making" what it is wished to "mar." I know that some think much of the capabilities of Kosi Bay. But others believe it would be an enormous undertaking to make anything like a port out of this swampy lake, besides many other difficulties to be encountered in the unhealthiest part of all South Africa, amongst the filthiest clan of Kaffirs in existence, a great many of them lepers. Really this might be left to a future which does not seem to be near. But what is the direct outcome of this annexation? That complications, till now very distant and hypothetical, are immediately called into

life. This "hemming in" necessarily has driven the S. A. Republic to look for support in other quarters and already some of the latest transactions in Delagoa-bay have proved that this support can be easily found. By the sheer force of circumstances, the policy of "hemming in" must end in overreaching itself and become a menace to others besides the simple Burghers of Transvaal. Even while I write, there are signs that the fate of these two insignificant Kaffir chiefs is pondered over in Cabinets that years ago would not have given a single thought to South-African matters.

I wish I could see some sensible advantage in all this marring: I see, however, only the contrary. The more the central states of South-Africa develop themselves, the better for the whole country, the better also for English commerce; for I could see, when in the country, that no other nation can ever have the lion's share of commerce, or hope to drive England out of the field. It wants an enormous amount of capital, energy and pluck to trade advantageously in these parts; that English commerce has these *desiderata*, and knows how to use them, has been sufficiently proved.

Then why mar what you wish to make and not let development take its natural course? Why indeed?

The latest instance of how little really is understood of these affairs in England is the general wonder how 5,000 Swazis can act with the Boers against Magato, under the supposition that the Swazis hated the Boers bitterly.

Now the Swazis never had anything to suffer from the people of Transvaal with whom they lived on friendly terms, before the landjobbers, prospectors and concession-hunters came into the country. The farmers used to go with their flocks to Swazi-land and graze them, quite at peace with the natives. Why should they hate each other? That the grandmother of the actual chief and her principal advisers should not take it as a friendly act, when they saw that there would be an end to their absolutism, is natural enough. They liked it the less, when told, heaven knows what, absurdities about Transvaal schemes and English co-opera-

tion in their helpless state. But when the real state of affairs was explained to them by men knowing admirably well how to manage Kaffirs—and in this the Boers are experts—there remained no great difficulties. Nor is there the slightest reason why the bulk of the tribe should be unfriendly to those who protected them against their tyrants, whenever they sought their protection. There are thousands of Swazis already in the South-African Republic who fled thither in fear of extermination by some of their own clans. Many of them have formerly fought on the side of the whites against other Kaffir tribes, when asked to do so. Why should they not? They know they will be well treated and well paid; and, after all, if you scratch even a "tame" Kaffir you will always find a kind of fighting animal. There really is nothing to be wondered at, if some thousands of them volunteer to join the Boers. They look on this just like volunteering to work in the diamond mines in Kimberley or the gold mines of Johannesburg.

What is of much more importance is the war itself. I have every reason to suppose that the Boers do not go into it with a light heart. It is a dire necessity and seven years ago I had heard them say that it would have to come to this. Magato is considered a very powerful and very wealthy chief. It is said that he has, for years, levied heavy contributions upon his subjects. Each of them who went to the mines had to bring a diamond or a sovereign. His country is very difficult of approach and he has many strongholds, with many rifles sold to him over the Portuguese frontier, and it is believed that he has even Gatling guns. In fact, it cannot be known whether he has not the help even of some philanthropic whites. So this may prove in every respect a very serious business. It may even be that the war is not at once a success.

Now pray let there be no nonsense as there was, for instance, in the case of the poor Portuguese at Delagoa-bay who were continually stated to be on the point of being murdered wholesale by the Kaffirs, yet never were. Things generally

are not what they seem in South-Africa. Not to speak of intentional misrepresentations, most events do not present the same appearance to Africanders as to Europeans; and what to us would look very much like a reverse to the whites is not at all always thought one by the Kaffirs. The first expedition of President Burgers against Secocceni was not considered a success even in Transvaal; but it was not at all regarded as a reverse to the Boers by the Kaffirs. When the Boer Commando returned home, they supposed that the Boers thought they had done enough for the moment; the Kaffirs knew that they had had quite enough of it; and so they kept quiet for a good while. Magato, after all, is only a very powerful robber-chief. Even without a signal victory or with something which may look to strangers as no success, he may be forced to keep quiet a long time. In any case whatever happens it will be well not to judge, before the real facts of the case are correctly known. And it would be a boon for South-Africa if this were always done or had ever been done. I sincerely hope that my feeble attempt to enlist British attention to, if not the favourable consideration of, the Boer side of the question, will have a better fate than the efforts of General P. Joubert, who, on a memorable occasion, said that he had in vain written for years to England to prevent some wrongs, and who yet, after this avowal, continued to write and to speak on behalf of his good cause—and that I shall not have to call this appeal "*a voice in the desert.*"

Amsterdam, 26 May, 1895.

P.S.—According to the papers received after the above was written General Joubert is under the impression that Magato is really incited by white men. He is also of opinion that Magato's country is not at all so difficult for military operations as was that of Malaboch. Malaboch is the chief that was reduced some time ago, before Magoeba was conquered.

NEW ZEALAND.

By the Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G.

"The land of eternal spring."—*John Fiske.*

New Zealand was first visited in 1642 by the Dutch navigator, Abel Tasman, who, leaving Batavia to explore the Pacific, discovered Tasmania which he called Van Diemen's Land, after the then governor of the Dutch Indies. Thence, steering eastwards from Storm Bay, he sighted, after some days' sail, the Middle Island of New Zealand and called it Staaten-Land. He had anchored in Massacre Bay, in the north of the Nelson District; and as the sweep of the land there showed no outlet eastwards, he took Cook's Straits for a deep bay. Four of his crew were massacred, and he soon sailed homewards, when, after sighting and naming Cape Maria Van Diemen and staying a few days near The Three Kings, he bore away again to the north. No other navigators visited the Islands for many years; at least no other visitors have left any record, till we come to Captain Cook, who sighted the east shore of the North Island in October, 1769, and coasted all round the group. He again visited New Zealand in 1773, 1774 and 1777. Captain Vancouver, who had been with Cook in the *Resolution* in 1773, visited New Zealand in 1791 in the *Discovery* sloop-of-war, accompanied by the armed tender *Chatham*. The ships anchored in *Dusky Bay*, in the S.W. of the Middle Island, whence they went to Tahiti: in this voyage, Lieut. Broughton, who commanded the *Chatham*, discovered and named the Chatham Islands.

Many visitors now came to New Zealand, as the group was re-named after the discovery that it was not Schooten's "Staaten-Land." Several French navigators arrived shortly after Cook's first visit; whalers from N. S. Wales and N. America coasted round its shores; a few whites quitted their vessels to reside with the natives; and the first

missionaries of a stream that has never since failed arrived in 1814.

Not till two centuries after its discovery, and only 55 years ago, was British sovereignty proclaimed over New Zealand, by Governor Hobson, on the 30th January, 1840. It remained a dependency of N. S. Wales till proclaimed a separate colony in May 1841. Its present form of Government was established in 1852 and amended in 1875.

The total area of New Zealand is 104,471 sq. miles, divided thus: N. Island 44,468; S. Island 58,525; Stewart's Island 655, Chatham Islands 375; the Bounty, Antipodes, and Kermadec Islands, 438. This area is nearly as large as Tasmania and Victoria together; and the United Kingdom exceeds it by barely 17,000 sq. miles.

Passing over the physical geography and geological formation of New Zealand, which are described in numerous works and are more or less generally known, it suffices to remark that its mountain ranges, if not very lofty are numerous; it has a mixture of various kinds of lands capable of yielding very varying productions; its lakes are many, both large and small; its coasts are plentifully indented with bays, creeks and fjords; it has an excellent river system furnishing abundant natural irrigation; traces of recent volcanic actions are evidenced by numerous extinct and several active craters, while geysers and hot mineral baths—acid, alkaline and saline, and of varying temperature—are numerous, especially near Lakes Rotorua and Taupo.

In consequence of its extending lengthwise between the 34° and 47° of S. Latitude, New Zealand has a very varying temperature, climate and produce,—from subtropical at the northern extremity to a resemblance with that of S. England (without its severe frosts) in the southern portions and in Stewart's Island. North of Auckland grow the orange, lemon, passion-fruit, olive, and even the banana; while in the southern parts are oats, wheat, barley, turnips, potatoes, stone and small fruits, etc. The north is warm and moist, the rainfall averaging 45 inches and the rain

falling about 175 days. The mean summer and winter temperatures* are thus given: North parts, 70° and 53°; about centre of N. Island, 64·7° and 49·3°; in Wellington, 64·66° and 47·8°; in Nelson, 63·6° and 45·9°; in Christchurch 55·2° and 44·31°; in Dunedin 58·0° and 43·2°. The absolute maximum temperature was 81° in Auckland and about 90° inland. There is a good deal of moisture with the heat; and the East coasts, especially about Canterbury, have a smaller rainfall than the West. Snow never falls in the extreme north. It is generally rare; so that under 1,000 ft. above the sea it is seldom seen in the North Island, and rarely lies over a day even in the South. The winter frosts are severe; but compared with that of England, the climate is warmer and more equable. In Stewart's Island, owing to its position in the warm current from Queensland and its formation sheltering it from the prevailing south-westerly winds, plants grow in winter in the open which the frosts would kill in Canterbury. Chatham Islands form a large lagoon with a thin rim round it, and were the seat of a settlement of the Moriori, a tribe slightly different from the Maoris in appearance and language, though of the same race.

These climatic and other differences in various parts of New Zealand cause a great variety in produce. North of Auckland we have Kauri gum and timber, subtropical fruits, and some sheep and cattle;—in Auckland are gold mines, a few sheep, and a larger number of cattle, but little cereal production: it has also the great thermal region. In this thermal and pumice district only small patches are suitable for agriculture, but the rest may eventually be used for forest or even grass; and both Forestry and Viticulture have been suggested. The East side of the N. Island from East Cape to Napier was originally bush-land. The limestone ranges of Hawkes Bay, from Hawkes Bay southwards, have taken grass easily and become rich sheep-regions, which, for their size, produce more wool than any

* For the two warmest and two coldest months.

other part of the Colony. In 1893, these holdings of 3,902,064 acres had on them 3,587,221 sheep and 75,693 cattle. In Wellington, too, pastoral pursuits prevail; and though some cereals are cultivated in the Wairarapa district and on parts of the west coast of Wellington, the N. Island depends mainly on its sheep, cattle, dairy produce, Kauri gum and gold.

Nelson, in the North of the Middle Island is a small farming district, raising wheat, cattle and sheep;—Marlborough has sheep and cattle and produces barley and a little wheat. On the W. coast, there is mainly mining—gold and coal—with a few cattle and sheep, but no agricultural products save small and unimportant patches in Grey valley and near Hokitika. Canterbury however is the granary of New Zealand. But for the fall in the price of wheat it would still export immense quantities. In 1893, the colony raised 8,000,000 bushels of wheat. The crops in 1894,—the smallest of the decade—were:—wheat, 4,819,695 bushels; oats, 12,153,068; barley, 724,653; hay 86,198 tons; and potatoes 126,540 tons,—of which 4,679,982 bushels of wheat, 11,197,792 of oats, and 667,614 of barley, 47,064 tons of hay and 82,826 tons of potatoes were grown in the N. Island, and the remainder in the S. Island. The largest farming districts are Otago and Canterbury. Otago raised 1,161,672 bushels of wheat and 6,816,769 of oats; Canterbury 3,407,841 and 4,172,690 respectively. Canterbury has large numbers of sheep. Otago has more mixed farming, growing wheat and potatoes in the north, and wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, turnips in the south. It depends more on oats than on wheat; it has large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; and in its interior are the chief gold mines. The long-woolled sheep are, in parts of the S. Island, fed on turnips or chaff in the winter; but in the N. Island little, if any, winter food is given to sheep or cattle, as grass grows nearly all the year round; while the climate all over New Zealand is so mild that nowhere do sheep or cattle need housing in winter.

New Zealand has a great variety of timber. Unfortunately, magnificent forests are ruthlessly cut down and burnt to clear the ground for grass; and the exports of this class are yet small. Kauri-pine, however, is now exported to Australia and England, and our Rimu or red pine and our birch—really a beech—are beginning to be used in Europe for paving purposes. These two woods, with the white pine, exist in vast forests on the S. Island,—in its extreme north, and south and its west coast. The Kauri is a splendid tree, often rising to 160 ft., with trunks of which 100 ft. are free of branches. The wood is durable, and the turpentine of this tree on the sites of the old forests furnishes the Kauri-gum of commerce. The Rimu or red pine is also a fine wood, clear grained, heavy and solid, extensively used in building, flooring, *etc.*, as also for furniture, from its taking a fine polish. Harder woods —Matai or black pine and Totara—are not so common as the red and white pine.

The total gold raised till now in the Colony was 12,600,944 oz. = £49,566,878, exclusive of gold exported unknown to Government, or used locally for jewellery, *etc.* The total export of silver was 667,762 oz.; but silver mining has received little attention. About 1,500 tons of copper, 500 of antimony, and 17,296 of manganese have been exported. Mines of tin exist but are still undeveloped. The output of coal in 1894 was 691,548 tons (including brown coal and lignite), the previous output, to end of 1893, being 8,496,869 tons. The bituminous coal mines are on the west coast near Westport and Greymouth; of brown coal in Auckland, Canterbury, and Otago; and of lignite in Wellington.

The Colony has 20,230,898 sheep, 831,831 cattle, 308,812 pigs, and 211,040 horses.

Our total agricultural exports in 1893 were valued at £3,781,898, including grain, fruit crops, hay, grass, and garden and orchard produce. The total export of wool in 1894 was 144,295,154 lbs. = £4,821,016; frozen meat,

1,026,240 cwt. = £1,194,545; rabbit-skins, 17,536,460 lbs. = £138,952; sheep-skins, 2,534,502 = £172,294; tallow, 8,094 tons = £183,588; oats, 1,806,411 bushels = £190,094. The land under grass or crops is a good index of the work done in 50 years in New Zealand: 10,063,051 acres were under various kinds of crops in 1894; and the average yield of wheat for that year—the lowest average during many years, but still higher than in the other Australasian Colonies,—was 20·15 bushels per acre; in 1888 it was 26·37 bushels. In 1894 the oat crop was 12,153,068 bushels—average 32·27 per acre; barley, 74,633 bushels—average 25·11; potatoes, about 125,000 tons—average about 6 tons. The gradually increasing exports of butter and cheese—in 1893, respectively 58,149 and 46,201 cwt.—promise a vast extension in the near future. The export of Kauri-gum in 1893 was 8,317 tons, price £61 8s. 3d. per ton, or over £500,000. The total exports in 1894 were £9,231,047, and imports £6,788,081.

New Zealand is pre-eminently the healthiest of all the Colonies. The death-rate varied in 1888-90 from 9·43 to 9·66 per 1,000; in 1892 it was 10·06; and 10·23 in 1893. The death-rate in England is about 19 per 1,000, in Scotland 18·5, in Ireland 19, whilst in the Colony coming nearest to New Zealand for health - N. S. Wales—it is 13·25. The census of 1891 gave 70,222 persons over 50 years of age; and our population now numbers 684,765,—363,885 males and 320,880 females.

These numbers exclude the Maoris, regarding whom I add a brief statement. Their own traditions state that they came in several canoes from Hawaiki—a land the locality for which cannot now be determined. In race and language they are similar to the inhabitants of Tahiti, Samoa, the Harvey group, *etc.*; and like them they have neither the Papuan element found in the Fijis nor the Malay and Japanese elements existing in the islands north of the Line. The Maoris, who a century ago must have numbered about 200,000, are now only about 42,000, and

are gradually decreasing. They are second to no uncivilized race with whom Europeans have come into contact, being brave, physically strong and intellectually apt, though, of course, unable to consider matters in an abstract form like Europeans. Some of them, who have had an English education, can speak and write English very accurately and show remarkable ability in debate. When Europeans first arrived, the Maoris, though they had small cultivations, were barely emerging from the hunters' stage of development; but now some of them have flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, while others attend to agriculture and own reaping and threshing machines of the latest American patterns. The old life, with its ancient relation of chief to people, is departing; and it remains to be seen whether they can, in the struggle for existence, exist as a separate race, or whether the Maori blood will survive in a century or two, unless mixed with that of Europeans. The Colony admitted the Maori ownership of land; and almost all that which belongs to the Crown or to Europeans has been purchased from them. Some land was confiscated in the wars; but the Maories have had ample reserves made for them, so that none have been left landless. Inter-tribal war—once common—is now at an end, and the habits and life of Europeans are now partially adopted by almost all: the result on the race, time alone can unfold. Phthisis is not unknown; but if attention is paid to health, and European diseases are kept away from the Maori settlements, the race may linger on; yet I doubt if it will increase. When a superior meets an inferior civilization, despite philanthropy, the latter is doomed. Its only chance is the adoption of our customs, and that requires time. The Native schools, now maintained amongst all the tribes by the Government, are doing much, and the teaching of English helps; but progress is slow, and unfortunately the vices of civilization are often copied more than its virtues: the results are degradation and death. Among the 74 members of the House of Representatives are four Maori members, elected

by the Maories: two are half-castes, one speaking English fairly well. Of the two Maories one—Hone Heke, a relative of the great Hone Heke, who fought with us in days gone by—is an excellent English scholar, an effective debater, and has the manner of an educated English gentleman. The Legislative Council has two Maori members, while in the Executive a half-caste, elected by a European constituency, is an excellent English scholar. War troubles have ceased: for though there may be riots, or disturbances, the railways and roads have rendered impossible such wars as the Colony witnessed between the forties and the seventies. If the Maories were thrifty and active, they could all, with the land now in their possession, be more comfortable than they are, and could become wealthy; but, unfortunately, they are not thrifty as a race, nor have they been trained to hard work as agriculturists: hence their future is doubtful. Many of them are ignorant of sanitary rules; and this often produces fever and other illnesses, though as a race their health is good. What makes their outlook gloomy is the fewness of births, and the lack, in many tribes, of adaptability to our customs. Lately a movement has begun, among two or three of the tribes, to stop intemperance, and to pay attention to the laws of health; but reforms work slowly even among Europeans, and we cannot expect great or immediate results among a people only emerging from barbarism.

The safety of a State, it has been said, depends on its finance. Finance has, at one time or another, troubled every Colony; and New Zealand has had, and may again have, years of anxiety about it. On the 31st March 1894, the net debt was £38,874,491, carrying an interest and Sinking Fund charge of £1,873,682. In the Session of 1894 the Parliament authorized an increase of liabilities of no less than £7,250,000, made up as follows:—A guarantee of £2,000,000 to the Bank of New Zealand, the debt to be paid off at the end of ten years;—£3,000,000 to be raised in two years for advances to country land-owners and

Crown tenants ;--£1,250,000, to be spent in five years at the rate of £250,000 a year, in purchasing land to be leased for settlement purposes ;—£500,000 to be borrowed in two years by the issue of Consols in New Zealand at 3½ per cent. ;--and £500,000, to be used at the rate of £250,000 a year, for purchasing and making roads in Native lands to be sold or let to settlers. The money to be raised by Consols has not been specifically appropriated, and it may either be used for some of the other purposes mentioned, or may take up some of the Treasury or Deficiency Bills (similar to Exchequer Bills in England), that are ever afloat. They are practically accommodation bills drawn in advance of revenue, repaid when the revenue comes in. Oftener than once, they have been added to the permanent debt: and they show, just now, a tendency to increase. The amount outstanding on the 31st March, was in 1887, £279,100;--in 1890, £519,900;--in 1893, £699,000;--and in 1894, £811,000. The Receipts of the ordinary Fund of the Government, for the year ending 31st March 1894, were £5,497,688 17s 7d.; the Expenditure, £5,207,450 11s. 2d.; the surplus, £290,238 6s. 5d. But of the Receipts, £283,779 11s. was the surplus from the previous year;—£284,500 were proceeds of Debentures issued under the Consolidated Stock Act, 1884;—£294,571 sinking funds set free;—and £16,300 10s. borrowed to pay claims under the Naval and Military Settlers and Volunteers Land Act, 1892. But for the Debentures under the Stock Acts, and the surplus from last year, the actual deficiency would have been £17,821 4s. 7d., without considering the payment of £250,000 to the Public Works Fund. This year we expect the surplus to be £150,000, or a drop of £150,000 compared with last year. Regarding our debt, we should note that it has not all been expended in wars, or on things yielding no return. We have about 2,000 miles of railway open, besides many miles more nearly ready, which gave for 1893-94 a revenue of £1,172,792 17s. 2d., with an expenditure £735,358 15s. 1d.

Then we have water-races owned by the Government; millions of acres of land are leased to tenants; our buildings, telegraph cables and lines, *etc.*, have all come out of borrowed money; our 5,513 miles of telegraph connexion necessitate 13,515 miles of wire; we have fourteen telephone exchanges and ten sub-exchanges with about 4,300 subscribers. The revenue from Customs duties in 1893-94 was £1,655,502 17s. 1d.; from Stamps, including Postal and Telegraph receipts (being in these two last cases for services rendered), £674,647 8s. 8d. The Land Tax yielded £285,320 10s. 5d.; the Income Tax, £73,237 16s. 2d.; the Excise duty on beer brewed in the Colony, £61,807 18s. 4d. The depression existing all over the world has visited us too, and the accounts for the financial year 1894-95 will doubtless show a fall in our Customs' revenue; for the value of our imports for 1894 was £123,434 less than for 1893. Our financial outlook, if not brilliant, may, with care, be made safe. The ever-present danger is the ease with which we obtain loans from London. The time when our loan money was expended lavishly on railways, water-races, *etc.*, has passed. We are using little borrowed money for railways. For roads and railways respectively the expenditure has been for the four past years as follows: 1890-91, railways, £179,012; roads, £71,683;—in 1891-92, railways, £154,416; roads, £109,716;—1892-93, railways, £220,894; roads, £135,339;—1893-94, railways, £176,255; roads, £177,667. Voted for 1894-95:—Railways, £313,028;—roads, £386,505. Scarcely half the sums voted will be spent. The danger of spending borrowed money on roads is that there is no direct return, though no doubt indirectly the Country is benefited, and settlement promoted. The new financial experiment being made in lending money to settlers, will be dealt with further on, when considering what may be termed new lines of policy that have been tried in the Colony.

The Colony has all the various religions of older lands, the percentage to the populations of the leading bodies

being, Anglican 40·51, Presbyterians 22·62, Catholics, 13·96, Wesleyan Methodists 10·14—the remaining 12·67 per cent. includes Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists other than Wesleyan, Lutherans, Unitarians, Friends, Plymouth Brethren, Salvation Army, Hebrews, Buddhists, Confucians, Mormons, Freethinkers, and some who object to state their religion. The Anglican Church has six bishops, and the Catholic four; the Presbyterians are divided into two bodies—the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand having jurisdiction over all New Zealand save Otago and Southland, and the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland. Everywhere religious facilities are open to the people; and save that lands were in the early days granted to a few of the Churches, their support is entirely from voluntary contributions. Education is the concern of the State. The New Zealand University, founded by the State with a grant of £3,000 a year, is a purely examining institution, which grants degrees and scholarships. It has given already after examination 453 degrees in Law, Medicine and Arts. There are 1,551 enrolled matriculated students. The University has 15 junior scholarships tenable for three years, and 9 Senior Scholarships tenable for one year, besides a private Senior Scholarship. Affiliated to it, with a full Arts' course, are 3 teaching University Colleges, at Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin, and provision has been made for a new College at Wellington. Auckland has a Music course, Canterbury an engineering and an Agricultural school, and Otago a Medical and Mines School. The examiners for degrees in Arts and for some portions of the Law and Music degrees are residents in the United Kingdom. The Auckland University College has 6 professors; the Canterbury College 10, besides the staff of the Agricultural College; the University of Otago has 9 professors, and 16 lecturers. These teaching Colleges have all been endowed by the State, as have been almost all the numerous Secondary or Grammar Schools found in all the

centres of population. About 500 youths went up in 1894 from these Secondary Schools for the University entrance examinations. The Primary School system is free, compulsory and secular, supervised by an Education Department in Wellington, and managed by Education Boards and local Committees, each School District having a Committee, and being generally the seat of one school. There are 13 Education districts in the Colony, each having a Board elected by the Committees, which are themselves elected by the householders and parents. There are neither fees nor rates; and the whole expense is borne by the General Government, amounting, for 1893-94, to £440,411 9s. 5d., out of the Consolidated Fund, and from reserves and loans for School buildings. Scholarships are granted to the brighter boys to enable them to pursue their education at Secondary Schools. The Art and Technical School of Wellington has distinguished itself in competition at South Kensington, and at the Guild examinations in London; and there are Art Schools in Dunedin, Christchurch, Wanganui and Auckland. The number of children in the Primary Schools is about 125,000; and over 94 per cent. receive instruction in drawing. Directly under the control of the Education Department are between 60 and 70 Native Schools and three Industrial Schools to which the juvenile waifs and strays of our population are sent. Private Schools, maintained by the Catholics or by private persons, educate 15,000 pupils. There are 7 hospitals for the mentally deranged, entirely under State control, at Auckland, Wellington, Porirua, Nelson, Christchurch, Seacliff, and Hokitika, with one private Asylum near Dunedin. The Colony is divided into Hospital and Charitable Aid Districts; and Hospitals are managed by Boards elected by contributing bodies. These Boards receive from the State 20/- for every 20/- contributed out of rates, and 24/- for every 20/- given by private persons. There are 32 hospitals, with about 15,000 beds. Then there are Charitable Aid Boards who manage Orphan Asylums and

Old Men's Homes, and also grant out door relief, the funds for which are raised by contributions from the local bodies in proportion to the valuation of the property in the Districts and from voluntary gifts. There are numerous Literary, Musical, Athletic, Racing, and other Societies, besides Friendly Societies, Masonic bodies, and other Altruistic organizations. We live the same social life as our race in other parts of the Globe, with perhaps more freedom from social restrictions. We have our Trade Unions, our Knights of Labour and Political organizations of various kinds; for here, as elsewhere, the problems of life are still unsolved. Criminal statistics are, certainly, no accurate test of conduct, as so much depends on the laws, and their administration; but, contrasted with other countries, our record is not unfavourable. Serious offences dealt with by superior Courts show convictions amounting to 3·50 per 10,000 of our population; and Summary convictions of all kinds before Magistrates, 20·72 per 1,000: this excludes Maori offenders. We have a strict registration system for births, deaths and marriages; and the proportion of illegitimate births per 100 births was in 1893 the highest yet recorded in the Colony—3·70; but this is lower than any of the Australasian Colonies except South Australia. Whatever faults we have, we are certainly a law-abiding people; and not having large cities, we no doubt escape many of the vices always prevalent when people are crowded together. We have four chief cities: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, and with the suburbs the population does not differ much, averaging about 40,000 each.

Our political and social experiments, are perhaps the most interesting matters of our Colony. It was settled under a system differing in many respects from that of other Colonies. Organizations—some being connected with Churches—were formed in England to colonize New Zealand. Otago was founded by the Free Church of Scotland Association; Canterbury by the Anglican Church;

and Taranaki, mainly colonized by South of England people, had room for Wesleyans, while Nelson had no particular religion. These organizations brought together able men inspired with the idea of founding a new nation, and applying their rule of life to a new country. The lines on which the separate settlements were founded had, in the end, to be modified, but the original impetus in some respects still remains. The arrival of gold miners from Australia, Europe and America made great changes; and as travelling became easier the settlements lost their original distinguishing characteristics, and became more cosmopolitan. In proportion to its population—when it was under 100,000—the Colony had more able men than perhaps any other Colony; and the effect of the ability, character, and aims of the early settlers is still a precious possession. It is impossible to include in one article our political struggles; our war and peace parties; our Centralist and Provincialist parties; our Labour or Liberal party. Suffice it to say that we have felt here the great Socialistic tendencies that have reached the civilized countries of Europe. Books and pamphlets, urging social reforms, were read by us; and having a political system that enabled reforms to be made easily and quickly, we have plunged into the outer whirl of the Socialistic vortex. We have extended the State functions. We have the usual Governor, Executive Council, and two Chambers; but our second chamber is appointed by the Crown, *i.e.*, the Ministry of the day, and at present for a term of seven years; but there is no limit to its numbers, and there is generally a struggle, when an appointment has to be made, between the Governor and the Ministry.

When the people demanded extensions of State functions these were granted; but it would be a mistake to say that these have all taken place in the last few years. The most important, and perhaps eventually the most enduring, are quite 25 years old. The New Zealand Government Assurance Association, founded in 1870, is a Life Assurance

and Annuity granting Association; and though there are several healthy and strong Life Assurance Companies in New Zealand it has been wonderfully successful, showing, in round numbers, insurance, £10,000,000, accumulated funds, £2,250,000, and annual income, £375,000. Other societies show about £10,000,000 insurance, so that New Zealand is the best insured State in the world. This has resulted from persistent canvassing, Life Assurance becoming popular, and from the great facilities afforded by the State for insurance. Then the Savings Banks system also has been encouraged and promoted: there are over £4,000,000 in the Government and private Savings Banks, the Government holding about £3,500,000. Another extension of State functions, instituted in 1872, was the setting up of a Public Trust Office, a Department of State that acts as Trustees, Executors and Administrators, Committees for Lunatics, etc. Under its control are estates valued at £1,500,000; and as its transactions are guaranteed by the State many have availed themselves of the security it affords.

So far these experiments may be deemed successful. But we have undertaken others. We enacted, in 1893, the political equality of the sexes for the Parliamentary franchise, the result of discussion and agitation extending over 15 years. The elections of 1893 passed quietly; but the full effect of the change cannot be judged from one election. So far no one can say that the women look less to character than men; and character is of at least as much consequence in a Parliamentarian, as ability. We have a modified local option Licensing Law, under which the Clutha Electoral District has declared for prohibition. Under the women's vote the Licensing laws will soon be reformed, and other Districts will vote no-license.

Another experiment tried, co-operative labour, is not new. Instead of letting all Government work by contract or getting it done by workmen on daily or weekly wages, the Public Works Department has let some parts of road or railway works, painting public buildings, *etc.*, at a certain

price, on condition that the men who were balloted for the position formed an Association to carry out the works. Where a fair price has been assured, and under efficient inspection, the system has worked fairly well. In some instances it has not; and many practical difficulties have arisen in applying it to all work; but it has the merit of tending to raise the self-respect of the employé, and making him, in fact, a master, and not a mere servant under a Contractor. The other measures lately passed dealing with the Labour problem are,—The Shop Hours Act,—The Factories Act,—The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act,—The Workmen's Wages Act,—The Contractors and Workmen's Lien Wages Act,—The Shipping and Seamen's Act,—The Truck Act,—The Employers' Liability Act. The Shop Hours Act declares that one half week day must be set apart as a holiday by the local authorities for all shops employing assistants. If no day is fixed the half-holiday is Saturday afternoon. In existence only 4 months, it has caused considerable friction. Some say it will prevent the employment of assistants; and as the holiday varies,—being in various places, Wednesday, or Thursday, or Saturday,—trade is interfered with. The Factories Act makes new regulations regarding hours, and the employment of women and youths, with various sanitary provisions. Its most important requirements, wherein perhaps it differs from other Factory Acts, are the following:—Every place where two or more persons are employed is declared a Factory, and liable to inspection;—no one under the age of 14 can be employed in a factory, and above that age and under 16, only on proving that he or she has passed the fourth Standard of Education;—every factory must give a half holiday in the week, and no person under 18 years of age, and no woman, except on a half holiday, shall be employed in any factory for more than 4½ hours continuously without an interval of at least half an hour for a meal;—girls under 15 cannot work as type-setters; no boy under 15 can be

employed for more than 48 hours in a week, nor at any time between 6 p.m. and 7.45 a.m. No female shall be employed for more than 48 hours in a week. During the meal hour no person is to be found in a factory except in rooms that have to be specially provided for the purpose. Any manufactured work done, not in a factory but in private houses, must have a ticket or label affixed, stating that it was made in a private dwelling or unregistered work-shop.

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act was passed in 1894 to prevent strikes; but no cases have yet come under it. It provides for disputes between trade unions and employers being referred first to Boards of Conciliation. The Colony has been divided into industrial districts, each with its board; but these have not yet been formed. Half of each board is elected by the Industrial Unions of Employers, the other half by the Industrial Unions of Workmen, and there is a complicated provision for the election of a chairman by the two parties. The boards have no power except as to conciliation; if that fails the dispute may be sent to the Colony's Court of Arbitration, one of whose three members is to be appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the employers, one on the recommendation of the employées, and the third from among the Supreme Court Judges. The award of this Court is compulsory, and may be enforced like any other court award; but if it is not complied with the utmost penalty is £500. It is a most inadequate penalty; for if a strike took place on a large scale, it is clear that the losing side would sooner pay the £500 penalty than be forced to obey an award which might be ruinous to their interests. Public opinion will doubtless have a greater effect in the enforcement of the award than the £500 penalty.

The Workmen's Wages Act gives a workman certain remedies against a Contractor and his employer, and prevents the employer paying the contractor until a month after the work has been finished, thus giving the workman

a chance of obtaining a judgment against the contractor and enforcing a lien on moneys coming to his employer. The Contractors and Workmen's Lien Act is framed for the same purpose, only it gives those supplying goods to building contractors similar remedies to those granted to workmen for wages. The Shipping and Seamen's Act ensures a certain number of seamen and firemen being carried in sailing and steam vessels, and also has some of the provisions advocated by Mr. Plimsoll, such as load-lines, deck cargoes, *etc.* The Truck Act insists that all wages be paid in cash and not in goods. The Employers' Liability Act is a copy of the English Statute; and the Coal Mining Act forbids the employment of women and youths in coal mines. Such in effect has been what is termed Labour Legislation in New Zealand; and it will be observed that it has not, as yet, been very alarming or very radical.

It is impossible to pronounce what the effect of this labour legislation may be. If the measures tend to raise the standard of living and increase individual thrift and self respect, the result must be beneficial; but if they promote a slavish dependence on the Government, evil will follow. That there is often a tendency amongst employers to neglect the well-being of their workers for the sake of their profits, is too true; and surely the State should look after the physical and general well-being of its citizens.

Notwithstanding what has been done in Labour Legislation, however, the problem of the unemployed still remains unsolved. Our new Labour Bureau has partially coped with the difficulty; and we have two small experimental farms to which those out of work may be sent. This Labour Department acts also as an Inspecting department under the Factories and Shops Act; and it tries, besides, to obtain work for those out of employment. Every winter, however, there are hundreds of men seeking work, and sometimes much genuine distress. No one remedy can meet the evil. Many causes have helped its growth:—the nomadic habits of the digger, the large number of men who came to

loan is redeemed. The moneys are to be borrowed at 3½ %, and it is thought that the 1½ % margin will cover probable losses and pay the expense of the Department. Such a financial scheme needs years to test its economic soundness.

As the effect of the graduated tax and the Land and Settlement Act has necessarily been to lower the value of large holdings, so this scheme of lending money lowers interests, which again will lessen the profits of the Life Assurance Department and may mean a recasting of the rates. The effect on farmers remains to be seen. Professor Gide in his Social Economy does not seem to think that encouraging mortgages has been beneficial to the peasantry of France.

Such, however, are some of our social experiments. Their effect may not be seen in our life time ; but whatever the result of these and other laws, New Zealand is eminently fitted for the breeding of what is called the Anglo-Saxon people. It lacks the summer heats of Australia and the United States ; it has no cold winters ; and the climate has been termed by an American, "an eternal spring," —a phrase that characterizes it very well, yet it lacks the continuity of a Continental climate. Our future who can predict? We are still drawn by cords of Home associations to the Mother-land. Her literature is our literature ; and though the papers and journals of the United States are extensively read, our feelings are British. Whether the loose Confederation that now exists will bear the strain of war, or whether the future will see an English-Speaking Federation that will weld England, America and Australasia into one in heart and one in aim—the uplifting of humanity —who can tell ?

For us in the Colonies, our task is clear. It is to do what our hands find to do, to promote civilization as best we can, hoping and believing that in the future, peace will triumph and a peaceful federation take the place of hostile nations.

THE YIH-KING.

TRANSLATED BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSEIGNEUR CHARLES DE HARLEZ, D.D.,
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Kua XII. ; ䷋ ; *P'i.*

I.- *P'i* : 1. Opposition, closing ; 2 Injury, wickedness ; 3. Blame ; 4. A negative exclamation.

1st TEXT.- The wicked man does not succeed ; the wise prospers ; the great goes, the little comes to him. (Instances of opposition.)

Com. I. *P'i* signifies a wicked man. When *P'i* (the wicked) reigns, the heaven and earth are without any relationship ; beings are not produced. When the high and the low are estranged, the empire is badly governed.

2d TEXT. 1. Plants whose roots are interlaced cannot be plucked up except together.†--*Com.* II. This regards princes.

2. If by patience and perseverance‡ even the common man becomes successful, shall not the superior man ? (4th sense of *P'i*).--He will not cause trouble to the people. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

3. Patience leads to advancement. But it is not becoming to advance in dignity, solely because one bears patiently with opposition and iniquity. *Com.* II.

4. When one has in his favour the decree of heaven, he will certainly be successful. The fields put in order prosper (in spite of opposition, *etc.*). Desires will be accomplished. *Com.* II.

5. *Heu-p'i*§ : By making wicked opposition cease, the superior man will prosper ; his friends will be as if surrounded by luxuriant branches of laurel. The happiness of a superior man lies in exercising an office with justice and suitable regard. (*App.*)

6. *King-p'i*‖ ; to destroy, overturn obstacles and injurious things. Thus joy and satisfaction are made to follow. First pain, then pleasure. How can obstacles continue when they are made to cease by being overthrown ? *Com.* II.

Symbolism.—"Heaven above earth": the position of the trigrams indicates the path of the small rising and of the great descending.

* Translated from the French, by Rev. J. P. Val d'Eremao, D.D.

† This expresses the resistance offered by the interlaced roots : the sentence is the same as the first of the 2d Text of Kua XI.

‡ *Or*, by receiving assurances.

§ *Also :* He incurs the shame of wickedness who wishes to do harm, though he may not succeed.

‖ A popular saying.

The obstacle to the relation between the heaven and the earth constitute *P'i.* The wise man avoids difficulties. The wise are not proud because of their emoluments, (but in that) they continue (to practise) virtues in their hearts.

Notes. The two sentences 3 and 4 in the 2d Text are merely continuations of the 2d sentence, from which they have been detached solely to make up the number 6.

We have in this section an instance of an obstacle in sentence 1, the means of conquering it in sentences 2, 3 and 4, and three expressions, in sentences 2, 5 and 6, where the word *P'i* is used.

Kua XIII. ; ䷌ ; *T'ŏng.*

I.—*T'ŏng :* Union ; harmony.

1st Text.—When the men of a country live in concord it prospers and overcomes the greatest difficulties.* The wise man will easily attain perfection. (*App.*)

Com. I.—We see here an effect of the action of heaven. Power combined with ability and understanding, and observant of justice. So the superior man is good and just, and sees into the idea of all that exists under heaven. Thus union reigns.

2d Text.—1. The man disposed to *concord* (*t'ŏng*) will be without regrets at home. If he even quit it—(remaining such†)—he will incur no blame. *Com.* II. (Effects of domestic union.)

2. The even-hearted man (if he goes about) among his own people will have cause to repent. (He will not preserve this evenness.) *Com.* II. This is the road to sorrow.

3. (Means of preserving *union.*) To conceal one's arms, while yet remaining vigilant ; to ascend the high land and not to put them aside for a long time (*literally* 3 years). Always to act peaceably. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

4. Having gone up into his castle, one is secure from attacks. *Com.* II. Even under difficulties, he returns to justice ; he retires into his fortress when right no longer reigns. (*App.*)

5. *Union* causes joy to succeed tears. Great armies meet peaceably. The man of concord places above all things moderation and justice. Even his enemies come back to him in the spirit of peace. *Com.* II.

6. The man disposed to concord and having a constant heart will be without sorrow in the suburbs (at the sacrifice ?).

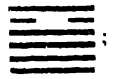
Symbolism.—"Fire under heaven" forms this Kua. Goodness, attaining to dignities, preserving moderation and keeping in accord with heaven constitutes *T'ŏng Jin.* By them the wise man understands the nature of things and comprehends the harmonic whole (*shan y erh tchi t'ŏng*). "The fire lights up heaven, makes it known."

Note.—Dr. Legge had already perceived that Concord was the subject-

* *Ship ta tchuen = ship nän.*

† This regards conduct both in and out of one's house.

matter of this chapter, without, however, giving any sense to its heading, *t'ōng.* According to Prof. de Lacouperie *T'ōng Jin* is a troglodyte. Respect for his memory prevents any remark on this explanation.

Kua XIV. :  ; *T'a.*

I.—*T'a :* Great, grandeur. to become great, development.

1st Text. -Greatness, a beginning (already) advanced.

Com. I.—True greatness is goodness in possession of honours ; the great observing the (just) mean ; both little and great living in harmony. Power and firmness, with ability and knowledge constitute its virtue. It is in harmony with the heaven ; works in due time : prospers greatly. (*App.*)

2d Text.—1. The truly great man has no relations with the wicked, and though he encounter great difficulties he will commit no faults.

2. (The advantages of material greatness.) What is conveyed in a great (*t'a*) chariot will arrive safe in whatever direction it go. (*Com.* II. What is placed in it will sustain no injury.)

3. (Greatness is the lot of the Kongs only.) They alone can give suitable gifts to the Son of Heaven. An interior man* cannot. The common man will wound the Son of Heaven, if he thinks of making him a gift.

4. The great man makes no mistake about what does not concern him,—is not his right. (*Com.* II. He distinguishes clearly between them.)

5. The great man uses all sincerity in his relations ; majestic and grave, he is happy ; he expresses his thoughts sincerely. (*Com.* II. What he says is believed ; even should he change his mind, all have confidence in his wisdom.)

6. He receives help from heaven ; everything turns to his advantage.

Symbolism. This Kua represents "Fire above Heaven." Thus the superior man represses evil, diffuses good, and in everything conforms himself to the decree of heaven.

Note.—This chapter indicates the qualities and advantages of a great man, —sentences 1, 3, 4 and 5 referring to moral and 2 and 6 to material greatness. The last, however, may be adduced only for the sake of comparison.

Kua XV. :  ; *K'ien.*†

I.—*K'ien :* Respect, condescension, good-will, modesty.

1st Text. When this virtue increases greatly in a wise man, he will have a happy lot.

Com. I.—The rule of the heaven is to pour downwards its favours and to cause light to shine : that of the earth, to push upwards its activity. The way of the heaven is to despoil the arrogant and to heap favours on the

* *Siao* = little, opposed to *t'a* = great.

† The whole text more than sufficiently proves that this word in the original was *K'ien* = modest, respectful, and not *Kien* = to reunite, as Prof. de Lacouperie believed.

humble: that of the earth is to overturn the luck of the proud and to cause the humble to superabound. The spirits cast down the proud and favour the humble. The way of man is to hate the proud and to love the humble. Modesty, when in honour, shines brilliantly; when lowered, it prevaricates not. This is the supreme end of the wise man.

2d Text.—1. When the wise man is respectful he will come happily out of difficulties. (*Com.* II. Self-abasement is the way to maintain one's self.)

2. Respect manifesting itself outwardly* produces the happiest effect,—(*Com.* II. When it is firmly founded in the inmost heart.) (*App.*)

3. The wise man who is diligent and respectful will be fortunate to the end. (*Com.* II. All will submit themselves to him.)

4. It is always advantageous to advance in respect and modesty. (*Com.* II. And not to exceed the due measure of moderation.)

5. Even without riches a man will be loved and helped by his fellow-citizens† if he shows respect and good-will. But with those who are not submissive,‡ it is good to use force and even arms. (*App.*)

6. If goodness openly shown (is not understood), one should then set his troops in motion and chastise the towns and states.§ (*Com.* II. If kindness does not succeed.) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—This hexagram represents "Earth above a Mountain." Thus the superior man diminishes what is excessive, increases what is wanting, and, arranging everything in due proportion, establishes peace and diffuses his favours.

Note.—Respect, deference towards everyone, modesty are fundamental virtues according to Chinese moralists. This chapter states their laws, their measure and advantages, and the cases when it is necessary to act with severity.

Kua XVI.;  ; *Yü.*

I.—*Yü*: 1. Dignity, majesty; 2. ease, satisfaction, enjoyment.

1st Text.—Dignity will advantageously establish feudal chiefs and conduct armies. (A prince full of dignity will succeed therein.)

Com. I.—Mighty power which makes its wishes triumph as they should and acts with condescension has true majesty. Its condescension is like that of the heaven and of the earth: it acts like them. How can he who possesses it fail to establish his vassals on a solid base and to guide his troops? The heaven and the earth act with condescension. Thus the sun and the moon fail not in their journey, nor are the four seasons disturbed in their course. So acts the great and wise man; thus his laws and punishments are just and the people submit to them. Noble dignity is indeed a great thing!

* (*Com.*—far and wide.)

† *Com.*—*Puh fû'erh nêng i khî lin.*

‡ See *Com.*

§ This is a mere continuation of the 5th Sentence, separated for the purpose of forming six paragraphs.

2d TEXT.—1. A dignity showing itself to be noisy, (*or*, a noisy enjoyment, 2d sense) is a fatal thing. (*Com.* II. The will becomes exhausted.) (*App.*)

2. Power resting on a rock will speedily attain a happy success. (*App.*)

3. If anyone cast covetous eyes on enjoyments and linger (in them) he will have to repent of it. (*App.*)

4. Undoubtedly, through dignity are acquired greatness and much good. Numerous and eager friends will protect (it). (*Com.* II. Desires will be accomplished perfectly.)

5. Pleasure is a chronic illness which becomes continual and increases, even though one may not die of it. (*App.*)

6. If he who is given up to enjoyments amends himself completely,* he will escape the evils which are their consequences. (*Com.* II. If he goes on, the thing cannot last.) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—This Kua is formed of "Thunder issuing with noise from the Earth." The ancients based their music upon it and honoured virtue. They offered their adoration to *Shang ti*, and made libations to their ancestors.

Kua XVII. ;  ; *Sui.*

I. *Sui:* Respect, submission, conformity with what should be ; 2. Complaisance ; 3. Fidelity to duty ; 4. Consequently, in this case.

1st TEXT. This virtue enables one to pass happily through the four stages of existence† without failure or mistake. The strong bearing with the weak, activity amid enjoyment constitute Sûi.

Com. I.—Its success is great, through it the world gets all things in due time (*sûi shí*). Exceedingly great is the importance of acting in conformity (*sûi*) with the needs of different times.

2d TEXT. 1. A magistrate correcting faults which may have been committed will be happy. In his relations with men he will acquire great merits abroad through his good conduct.

2. Should he frequent the company of young men and neglect the old (and wise), he does not deserve that anyone should hold relations with him. (*App.*)

3. Should he do the reverse, *in that case*, (4th sense of *sûi*) he will attain to good and to the position he desires ; he will remain firm and upright ; (his thoughts will be withdrawn from all baseness).

4. What is obtained by (blamable) yielding (and not for one's own merits) is a fatal acquisition. By being sincerely upright and persisting in the way of truth great merits are acquired. (*Com.* II. What sorrow can one (then) fear ?)

5. Upright conduct, holding always to what is good will bring success. (*Com.* II. Thus will it be with the man in office who is always careful of the (just) mean.)

* *Com.*—Sheng = *neng pû kuoh.*

† See Kua I.

6. When the bond of attachment and submission (among the subjects) is strong, the King can offer sacrifices on the mountains of the west. He can hold communication with the spirits: the union between men and spirits is then perfect.* (*Com.* Sacrifices then become accepted.) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—This hexagram is formed of "Thunder under stagnant Water." The wise man, on the approach of darkness (whether of the night or of a storm), goes home with tranquillity and remains at rest.†

Kua XVIII. ䷑; *Kû.*

I.—*Kû*: Deliberation, embarrassment, trouble, care.

1st TEXT.—Deliberation produces and develops (good; by it) the world remains in good order. It gives triumph over difficulties. We should deliberate three days before acting, and again three days afterwards (on the consequences). (*App.*)

Com. I.—If we deliberate wisely, the world will be well governed. In entering on any affair we should deliberate three days before and three days after.

2d TEXT.—1. The chief thought (*Kû*) of a careful father is that he has a son. If he thinks maturely of this, he will commit no fault. (*Com.* II. Difficulties will end for him in a happy solution, if he considers everything with care.)

2. That of a mother is the fear of not being perfectly just. (*Com.* II. *I.e.*, of not keeping the (just) mean.) (*App.*)

3. There will never be any great fault to regret or any great reproach to undergo. (*Com.* II. And this till the end.)

4. Should he show a fatal indulgence (for the faults of his son) and fear to trouble him (with his remonstrances)‡ he will regret it. (*App.*)

5. A diligent father, careful for the perfecting of his child, will merit praise§ (by his virtues. *Com.* II.)

6. Disinclination to serve the sovereign or the princes proceeds from too much care for one's own affairs and from wishing to attend to nothing but them. Such views should be moderated. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—Here we have "Wind under a Mountain." It represents the strong above, the weak below; submission in the one, uprightness with firmness in the other. Thus the great should encourage the people and develop all virtues.

Note.—All this refers to *Kû* = cares, thought, offices.

* This concord, in the eyes of the ancient Chinese, was the perfection of the social condition. Compare *Siao-hio*, p. 40, of my translation.

† Compare *Siao-hio*, p. 139 of my translation.

‡ The son who sees his father committing faults is bound to admonish him respectfully and to persist in such remonstrances. Compare my *Shiao-hio*, p. 109.

§ The text says just the reverse. It requires, however, to be altered; for, as the commentaries prove, a negative has evidently been dropped. The 3d sentence should be joined to the 2d, and the 5th to the 1st.

Kua XIX. ; ䷒ ; *Lîn.*

I.—*Lîn :* Authority ; superintendence ; office.

1st Text.—This is the source of all good. The exercise of authority will not exist 8 months without differences.

Com. I.—A firm authority increases little by little. By goodness and condescension it will maintain the (just) mean, and fulfil its duties. By firmness and uprightness it will achieve great success : this is the way of the heaven. After 8 months, some evil may supervene, but it will not be lasting (if one is wise).

2d Text.—1. Authority acting in consonance with (general) concord is a source of certain success. (*Com.* II. It will assuredly attain its end.)

2. If it proceeds thus, advantages will certainly result from it.*

3. To delight in power for itself† is without any other advantage or pleasure. By rejecting this vain feeling, authority will be exercised happily.

4. The supreme authority should be without any weakness. (*Com.* II. Exercised in a suitable way.)

5. For a great prince to know well how to exercise authority is both necessary and a happy thing. (*Com.* II. The prince should follow the way of the (just) mean.)

6. An authority which is generous and sincere is a source of happiness without any shadow (cause of sorrow). (*Com.* II. These dispositions should be preserved in the heart.)

Symbolism.—"The Earth above stagnant Waters." The wise man instructs without relaxation ; he forms and protects the people without fixing (for this) any limits whatever.

Note.—All this indicates the conditions for the happy and successful exercise of authority, the qualities of princes, *etc.*

Kua XX. ; ䷓ ; *Kwēn.*

I.—*Kwēn :* To behold, to contemplate ; a look ; 2. External appearance, deportment ; 3. Gravity, dignity.

1st Text.—Deportment, gravity (as of one) who is purified and prepared to offer sacrifice, and does not make the offering ;‡ he is full of uprightness, of severe dignity.

Com. I.—(Id.) His superiors look up to him and form themselves on his model. By considering the spiritual way of the heaven and the seasons (succeeding each other) unchangeably, the holy man conforms himself (to their action) and conclusively establishes his teaching.

* A repetition of No. 1, to fill up the number 6

† The Commentary explains the word by *shuo* (149, 7).

‡ Does not stir. *Com.* To sacrifice by offering liquids and food. Prof. de Lacouperie saw in *Kwēn* the name of a prince and made the whole into a ballad. I am unable to adopt this idea or to accept the interpretations which it would make necessary. There is not the least ground for such an assumption. To maintain his position, he had to strike out the greater part of the words and make untenable hypotheses.

2d TEXT.—(Uses of the various meanings of *Kwēn*): 1. A young lad who is gazing; the deportment of a young boy; not blameworthy in a common man; deserving blame in a *Kiun-tze*, (a wise man in high position). *Com.* II.—(This is the way of the common man.) (*App.*)

2. To observe, to peep from a door that is ajar, is good for a female. But it may bring shame.* (*Com.* II. To look at a woman out of an open door.) (*App.*)

3. To consider one's own life (for the directing of) one's actions (*literally*, one's goings and comings). (*Com.* II. In order not to lose the right way.)

4. To come and contemplate the majesty of the empire,† to be the happy guest of the sovereign. (*Com.* II. (It is said of) an illustrious guest.)

5. To consider one's own life.‡ By this the *Kiun-tze* becomes irreproachable. (*Com.* II. To consider the people.)

6. To consider his own life; the *Kiun-tze* is thus without reproach.

Symbolism.—"The Wind blowing over the Earth." The ancient kings observed (the characteristics) of places and peoples that they might establish their ordinances. The great man, an attentive observer, (represented by the trigram of the Wind), stands on a high place; the man of good-will and a condescending disposition (represented by the trigram of the Earth), stands in the middle, to inspect and contemplate the world. (*Com.* I, at the beginning.)

Kua XXI. ;  ; *Shih hok.*

I.—*Shih-hok*: 1. Babbling that is cutting and wicked; 2. *hok*: to bite, to chew.

1st TEXT.—If such wicked talk increase, it will be well to use punishment.

Com. I.—*Shih* means to bite. *Shih hok* means having something between the teeth, which prevents the closing of the mouth: hence "an obstacle," "a rebellion."

2d TEXT.—1. If the wicked babbler has his feet secured in the stocks and his toes cut off, it will prevent evils. (*Com.* II. If he cannot go about, *puh hing*.) (*App.*)

2. If they *bite* his flesh (with pincers) and cut off his nose, it will be well. (*Com.* II. Violence should be used.) (*App.*)

3. To wish to take a bite from a piece of dry meat and to find poison

* Here the meaning may be a woman who watches her husband or peeps through curiosity. I think, however, by comparing the text with *Com. II.*, that we should omit *li* from the text and read: "To look at a woman from a half-open door; *Com.* This is shameful in a husband."

† An expression reserved for expressing the visit of a feudal chief to the sovereign.

‡ Sentences 3, 5, and 6 are almost identical: in the last the pronoun *Khi* takes the place of *ngo*. The last editor, in remoulding the text was obliged to multiply the paragraphs for the sake of the number six. Sentences 5 and 6 should, therefore, be omitted. The greater part of the translations of Prof. de Lacouperie are unfortunately impossible. I shall be obliged to prove this at the end of my work.

therein is a small evil if one does nothing deserving of blame; (*i.e.* To meet difficulties and sufferings and to be decried are less evils than are blameworthy deeds.)

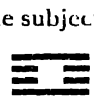
4. Should he who gnaws bones in order to eat the dry meat adhering to them (a *labor improbus*) succeed in a law suit (he will obtain the prize—good luck); his difficulties will turn to his advantage; he will become great, and will be firmly established with luck. (*App.*)

5. He will acquire pure gold; his perfecting will be increased; he will not fail; he will obtain a suitable reward.*

6. To bear the *Cangue*, and to have the ears cut off, is not this a terrible punishment? But (the wicked calumniator) hears (these threats) yet does not understand. (*Com.* II. *App.*)

Symbolism.—"Thunder and Lightning" form this *Kua*. The ancient kings, by the threat of punishments firmly established the laws. The strong and the weak having their several places and acting with intelligence are represented by thunder and lightning, united and shining together. The weak are below, and tend towards the lofty.†

Note.—Sentences, 1, 2, and 6 brand wicked calumniators. Sentences 3, 4, and 5 are connected with the subject by the use of the word "*to bite.*"

Kua XXII. ;  ; *Pî.*

I.—*Pî*: 1. Glory, ray, to adorn; 2 To exercise, to render strong. (*App.*)

1st Text.—Glory, even when exceedingly increased, is seldom lasting, whatever one may do. (Glory and fortune are not lasting things.)

Com. I. —Skill and intellect constitute the beauty and glory of man. It is in accord with the order of heaven that we should consider the change of the seasons. It is in accord with the beautiful in man, that we form and perfect the world.

2d Text.—1. One strengthens and adorns his feet by leaving his chariot and going a-foot (as an act of virtue). *Com. Kang teh.* (*App.*)

2. (Another sense of the word *pî*). To adorn, to arrange the beard, to set it in order, to make it pretty and shining. A representation of the beautiful disposition of virtue. (*App.*)

3. What is in good order (*pî*), and internally well arranged will continually have a happy development, nor will it undergo any ill. (*App.*)

4. Beautiful (*pî*), simple as a white griffin, the young girl will not fear a ravisher, a robber. (*Com.* II. But will remain without stain.)

5. The light (*pî*) which adorns the heights of the mountains and hills is, in the beginning—at dawn, small as a roll of yellow silk, but it ends in diffusing light and gladness. (A figure of the dawn as the beginning of happiness.)

* A mere continuation of sentence 4, for the sake of the number, as sentence 6 is, for the same reason, of sentence 1.

† There follows (in the book) this prognostication which is quite out of place: "Though this be not the place, one may advantageously begin a law-suit." Compare 1st Text. The interpolator takes *li* in a different sense from that in the text.

6. The white ray (*Pi*) is complete and perfect (not excessive in anything). It returns to the root of light and it has no special colour. (*Com.* II. This means a chief who succeeds in his designs.) (This is the fundamental and essential light, without special colour or indication.)

Symbolism.—"Fire under a Mountain." The wise man makes all his principles shine forth; but he does not believe that he can settle all discussions.

Note.—In this section we have various instances of the uses of the word *Pi*, and its different meanings.

Kua XXIII. ;  ; *Poh.*

I.—*Poh:* To oppress, to overturn, to treat harshly.

1st TEXT.—Harsh treatment succeeds in nothing.

Com. I.—*Poh* means to overturn, to beat down. The little* (sometimes) overturn the strong; the common man becomes great. People give way before him, but they seek to stop him. Considering the form of this Kua, the wise man pays special attention to the successive increase and decrease of beings, -to their fulness and despoliation (*literally*, emptiness), like the movements of the heaven, (as the winter succeeding summer,—the night the day, etc.).

2d TEXT. 1. *Poh.* To overturn, to cause one's bed to fall by breaking one of its legs and thus undoing it (fatal consequences). It represents the great, the prince who injures himself by impoverishing and weakening his people. (*Com.* This phrase and those that follow are figurative expressions used in allegories, and denoting material and moral ruin. *App.*)

2. To overturn a bed by breaking its frame: ruin, a destructive effect. One who ruins himself by losing his helpers,—a king, his ministers,—a great man, his friends and dependants: (a proverbial saying). (*Com.* II. He will be without companions.) This means ruin extending itself and gaining the upper hand. (*App.*)

3. To overturn, to make a thing fall, without regrettable consequences. This occurs when one does it lawfully and for good reasons.† That is because it concerns both the great and the little (*Or*, those who are abandoned (by all). *Com.* II.

4. To overturn one's bed and tear off one's skin—to injure one's self, sure ruin, a near calamity. (*Com.* II. Continuation of the consequences of it:—by overturning his bed one injures himself. (*App.*)

5. The prince, through bestowing favour on the people of the palace (*literally*, people strung together like fishes) will, with certainty, obtain (great) advantages. (A maxim opposed to that in sentence 3. *App.*)

Note.—I think that here a figurative and symbolical element must be admitted; and we should consider this hexagram as the representation of a prince (—the upper whole line), above his officers ranged in two rows like

* Represented by the mountain weighing on the great earth.

† When, for instance, one overturns cabals, tyrants, etc.

dried fish.  It should, therefore, be translated: "having officers like strung fish." Then the word would be *P'o* = people of the palace.

6. A fruit too large to be eaten—(a good obtained which is wasted). The wise and superior man conquers the earth. (*Or*, "acquires a chariot," the people who carry him on their arms.) The low and common man causes the fall (*poh*) of even his own residence (—the fruit already formed which he cannot eat. *App.*) [This is a proverbial phrase inserted here because it contains the word *poh* = overturn, as occurs also in the preceding sentences 1, 2, 3, and 4.] (*Com.* II. He will never be able to make use of it.)

Symbolism.—"A Mountain weighing on the Earth,"—the figure of oppression. It is also the great strengthening the weak, for the safety of their own estate. (When the dependants are in safety, they work in peace and make the domain prosperous.)

Kua XXIV.;  ; *Fû.*

I. *Fû*: Repairing, correction, amendment, return to the original state.

1st Text.—If in one's relations and acts one give no offence, friends will come, and one will not fail. If one *corrects* his conduct or his daily acts for 7 days, afterwards one will succeed in all that one undertakes.

Com. I.—To *correct* one's self is a happy thing if one resolutely amend one's self. It will happen to one as mentioned in the text, if one acts with condescension and submission to the rules. To correct one's self, as has been said, is the manner of acting of the heaven. One will succeed. Power and stability will increase. Do we not see in this the heart of the heaven and of the earth?

2d Text.—1. He who *amends* promptly, who repents without (making) resistance will be specially blessed. (*Or*: Prompt amendment, repentance without opposition, are supremely lucky. (*Com.* II. If one amends and reforms one's self.) (*App.*)

2. To renounce evil and to *amend* one's self is an excellent thing. (*Com.* II. Thus one yields to virtue.) (*App.*)

3. Strong and persistent *amendment*, even in the midst of difficulties, will escape all evil. (*Com.* II. By following (what is) right.)

4. He alone who follows the way of the just mean knows how to *restore* his nature. (*Com.* II. He follows right reason.)

5. A generous *amendment* is without regret. (*Com.* II. is regulated according to the just mean.)

6. Self-deception, a mistake regarding one's own *correction* is a great evil, a cause of disasters. The Chief of the Army, in such a case, will suffer a great defeat and will cause his king (such) evils as 10 years will not suffice entirely to repair. (*Com.* II. This is contrary to the rules which should be followed by a Prince.) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"The Earth above Thunder." The ancient kings, on the

day of the solstice,* used to close the frontiers. Merchants and travellers could no longer pass; the Princes could not inspect their regions. This was a kind of rest,—of forced inaction, like that of the thunder enclosed and kept under the earth, in the hexagram. Hence the quotation.

Kua XXV.;  ; *Wu Wang.*

I.—*Wu Wang:* Without blame, irreproachable, honest.

1st Text.—Irreproachable conduct, absence of misconduct, not failing in uprightness, *etc.* If one is not upright and just, evils will occur, everything will turn out without profit, whatever one may do.

Com. I.—By uprightness, one prospers greatly. This is the order of heaven. He who is not just will be unhappy, will succeed in nothing. What is the result of uprightness? What act of the blameless man will not heaven help by its order?

2d Text.—1. When the conduct is irreproachable, every proceeding is lucky. (*App.*)

2. One gathers without labour; one reaps without having sown: all succeeds whatever one does (when one is honest). [The first sentence continued.] (*App.*)

3. He whose conduct is perfect may, nevertheless, meet some undeserved evil; like an (innocent) ox that is yoked: its conductor drags it along, the people of the neighbourhood ill-treat it. (*App.*)

4. Good conduct (alone) prospers without any reverse. (*Com.* II. It will have an assured prosperity.)

5. The honest man when sick needs no medicine to be content. He is so by the testimony of his conscience. (*Com.* II. He should not try it.)

6. If the acts of an honest man bring on evils, there will no longer be any advantage from anything. (*Com.* II. His acts sometimes produce the evil of exhaustion.†) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"Thunder rolling under heaven." Everything is right by nature. The ancient kings, therefore, in their efforts, acted in conformity with the seasons, for the welfare of their people. *Com.* II. The strong man in a high position—(the trigram of heaven) dominates everything. By vigorous action he solidly establishes all; he observes the [just] mean; he is what he should be. *Com.* I.

Kua XXVI.;  ; *Tá tchu.*

I.—*Tá tchu:* 1. Great maintenance; 2. to tame, to conduct.

1st Text.—A great and good maintenance confirms and perfects. If one does not ruin (eat up) his house, it will be well: he will go through difficulties happily. (*App.*)

* According to Dr. Legge. Or, "Only on this day, the 7th,"—which seems rather improbable. The matter is still uncertain.

† Through fatigue.

Com. I.—The great maintenance signifies the strong man strengthening his uprightness and justice, diffusing a brilliant light, daily renewing his virtues. Powerful and elevated, he sets wisdom above all things; he can establish himself firmly in an extreme uprightness. He maintains wisdom above all things. He corresponds to the ordinance of heaven.

2d TEXT.—1. When some calamity supervenes, it is good to halt (to overcome one's self), to yield to circumstances, and on no account to employ force. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

2. (As, for instance, when) a car loses the leather which *maintains* it in its place (straight). (*App.*)

3. He who travels with well-maintained horses will issue happily out of difficulties. If he daily exercises himself in driving and fighting, everything will succeed for him. (The result of a good education.) (*App.*)

4. The yoke, the board carried by a young ox is of most happy use (to *tame* it and accustom it to labour: 2d *sense*). (*App.*)

5. When a boar is gelded and tamed, its tusks are not dangerous and rather become useful implements. To extract the teeth of a boar is to deprive the wicked of the means of injuring. (*App.*)

6. How vast is the way of heaven! It is, indeed, immense to traverse! (*Com.* II. An allusion to the form of the hexagram, which represents a mountain above heaven: it refers to the expression *tchu kih*. *Com.*)

Symbolism.—"A mountain in the heaven" (the heaven in the midst). The wise man, understanding all things, first discusses, then acts, in order thus to maintain his virtue.

Kua XXVII.;  ; *Y*.

I.—*Y*: 1. To preserve, to entertain, to sustain; 2. chin, the sides of the mouth; 3. profound.

1st TEXT.—Entertainment succeeds happily. It is necessary to examine carefully how one should entertain. One should himself seek what is good for his mouth. (*Or*, "this begins by seeking," etc.)

Com. I.—Preserving one's uprightness is the source of happiness. One should examine what he should maintain and what is to maintain him. Heaven and earth preserve everything; the holy man preserves wisdom in order, by it, to reach all peoples.* Great opportunity attends entertainment. (*App.*)

2d TEXT.—(*i.e.* It is very necessary.) Leaving your wonderful turtle [one of the four kinds of supernatural beings†], you watch me eating (moving the chin‡: 2d *sense*). [A phrase devoted to expressing the neglect of a higher good, in order to attach one's self to material good.] This is bad. The heavenly turtle, which shows the future, cannot be eaten; hence it is neglected. (*App.*)

In the sense of *to nourish*, to do all to maintain strength and health.

* To make them equally wise.

† The apparitions of heavenly animals indicate the will of heaven and the future. They are, besides the turtle, the unicorn, the dragon and the phœnix.

‡ A figure of the desire to eat, to enjoy material success. Neglecting the heavenly beings you think solely of pleasure, you yield to desire: *tong yu yuk:*

2. To seek only one's own preservation is to violate the moral laws. To seek it on the heights is to go [to meet] evil and unhappiness. These two expressions are meant for those who become parasites to the little and the great.* (*App.*)

3. He who carefully seeks nourishment may succeed (*i*)†; the tiger advancing step by step and gazing fixedly‡ succeeds in its desires. (*App.*)

4. If one violates the rules,§ even when one is on the way of prosperity he will not succeed definitively amid great difficulties.

5. He who violates the laws of uprightness will certainly fall. In ten years he will have done nothing, that will be advantageous to him (*literally*, may he do nothing). *Com.* II. He will encounter great obstacles. (*App.*)

6. To cheer one with a suitable (*Com.*) maintenance is an excellent thing; it will succeed advantageously (by application). *Com.* II. From it one will secure universal approbation. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"A mountain above thunder" (a figure of one who represses his desires and restrains his inclinations). The wise man watches likewise his words and is moderate in the use of food.

Kua XXVIII.; ䷛; *Tá kuoh.*

I.—*Tá kuoh:* 1. Great excess; defect; failure; 2. to traverse, to pass through.

1st Text.—Defective greatness. A feeble support which, by strengthening one's self in every way, may become useful. (A deficiency may be repaired.)

Com. I.—Defective greatness, a column that is weak both at top and bottom. Defective force amid weak and quiet persons, if it seeks in acting to give satisfaction, may become strong and may prosper in all things. Greatness, when excessive or defective, is [equally] a fatal thing.

2d Text.—1. This may have two meanings: (*a*) "to rest on reeds" is a great defect: they yield and give no support: (*App.*);—(*b*) it is wrong to make use of white *mao* for an offering, in order to put a thing like a mat upon it.‖ The white *mao* represents purity and uprightness: *kist tche. Com.* This, according to the Commentary, represents excessive precaution. *Kwéh hu, wéi shin*¶: 1st *sense*).

2. [Other examples of things surpassing the usual]. An old and perishing willow which pushes forth buds,—an old man who marries a young woman.

3. A beam or pillar which is too weak is bad**: (it cannot give support), (a great defect).

4. A lofty and strong column is good; one that is the reverse is dangerous: (the contrary of the preceding sentence). (*App.*)

* Or rather for those who lower themselves too much or who look too high.

† Either for himself or for others. *Com.* II. Thus the great man diffuses glory.

‡ With prudence and circumspection.

§ An allusion and sequence of sentence 1.

‖ Instead of simply scratching the earth and levelling it,—an excess of precaution.

¶ In measure and prudence.

** See 1st Text.

5. An old willow producing a flower, an old woman marrying a man who is still young, though not to be blamed, cannot be praised. (*Com.*) The flower of the old willow cannot last; the spouse of the old woman may get tired of her. (Occurrences beyond the usual.)

6. When crossing a stream, to go in up to the top of the head is a dangerous thing (yet it may not be at all blameworthy, if done to help another; according to the Commentary: 3d *sense*). (*App.*) Failing strength.

Symbolism.—"A marsh covering the trees." The wise man, in the presence of a vicious power, remains alone without fear, and flies from the world without regret.

Note.—We have here a collection of proverbial expressions, many of which are connected with the form of the Kua. Strictly speaking this may, in fact, represent a beam injured above and below, and consequently very defective. We see here, once more, that the division into 6 sentences is quite arbitrary. The 3d is simply a repetition of the text; and the 2d and 5th are identical.

Kua XXIX.;  ; *K'an.*

1.—*K'an*: Danger, a precipice, a cavern; —*Tsai K'an*, to incur great risks; to expose one's self to danger for another.

1st TEXT.—Uprightness and a faithful and devoted heart will succeed; their deeds gain glory, by perseverance in spite of danger. (*App.*)

Com. I.—*Tsai k'an* means a great danger. Water, overflowing but not filling everything (the form of the Kua), represents dangers incurred without losing constant fidelity. The devoted heart succeeds; when power guards the [just] mean, all that one does is good and meritorious. The heaven has its dangers, which one cannot overcome; the earth has hers, in mountains, rivers, and ravines. Kings and princes regulate the dangerous thing so as to safeguard their states. The moment of danger is a very serious thing!

2d TEXT.—1. To incur danger, as by entering a cavern in a dangerous defile, is a fearful thing.—When one loses his way.

2. Amid dangerous rocks, if one knows how to moderate his feelings, he may escape happily. *Com.* II. By observing moderation. (*App.*)

3. If in everything and everywhere one encounters nothing but danger and peril, and obstacles are all around, to enter a dangerous cavern is an expedient no longer of service. There will be no possible help in it. (*App.*)

4. But if the danger is not insuperable, if the cavern in which one finds himself is not full of water and one can even level the ground, he will issue thence without fault.—Misery will not ensue. (*App.*)

5. (Sacrifice to be offered in time of danger.) Everything is done with simplicity; a vessel of spirits, a basket of grains, while the assistants have nothing but earthen vessels:—restraining one's self thus and persevering in one's virtue, it will end happily.* (*App.*) (Means of escaping dangers.)

* The *Tcheou-li*, prescribes for such a case, a very slight sacrifice.

6. The danger of one who is tied, fettered with triple bonds, shut up in a dungeon, and cannot for a long time succeed in delivering himself: an unhappy lot! Such is he who loses the way of wisdom.

Symbolism.—"Widespread water" (water repeated twice). The wise man, constant in virtue, acts virtuously and applies himself to teaching. He diffuses his benefits like the water.

Kua XXX.  ; *Li.*

I.—*Li*: Brightness, shining, pretty appearance, success.

1st TEXT.—Beauty, "pretty appearance," develops and perfects itself, as in the rearing of a domestic animal (which, being well cared for, is fat, beautiful and sleek).

Com. I.—*Li* means majestic brightness. The sun and moon shine in the heaven; the grains and plants, on the earth. A double glory shines in all that is right and just, and transforms everything that exists here below, by perfecting it.

2d TEXT.—1. When one engages in self-correction, and does this with diligent care, he will avoid all blame.* *Com.* II. If one tries to avoid every fault. (*App.*)

2. The most beautiful brilliancy is that of the yellow. *Com.* II. This is the colour which holds the mean between all the others.

3. When the sun's splendour is declining, it no longer inspires joy but sadness (*literally*, Music is no longer made by means of earthly instruments or by singing,—there is only the sighing of the aged). Everything shows failure and the regret which it causes. (*Com.*) *Com.* II. The splendour of the sun cannot last always. (*App.*)

4. The light of fire appears suddenly; it burns, kills, destroys, beats down; it cannot be borne. (*App.*)

5 and 6. When the prince goes on an expedition, tears are shed and sighs heaved. (And this ought to be, because) he goes to chastise rebels and evil-doers.† In his brilliant exploits he crushes the heads (of chiefs) and seizes robbers with their accomplices. Thus he incurs no blame.—This is an illustration of the power and glory of kings and princes. (*Com.*) *Com.* II. Such expeditions have for their end the re-establishment of order and justice.

Symbolism.—"The light of the sun" repeated twice, above and below. The great man thus makes his [good] qualities shine more and more in the four regions.

* Good conduct is generally qualified as *ming*, shining, brilliant. This shining conduct is the subject of sentences 1, 5 and 6.

† In the earlier days of the Chinese Empire, as the newly subjugated people were continually rebelling, the Chinese sovereign had some expedition to make, every spring, to subdue the rebels. This had become quite the rule.

(*To be continued.*)

A SKETCH OF BUDDHIST ONTOLOGY AND THE DOCTRINE OF NIRVĀNA IN THE MAHAYANA SCHOOL OF TIBET.

By Pundit Sarat Chañdra Das, c.i.e.

The *Mahāyāna* school teaches that neither spirit, nor substance, nor law (*Karma*), nor organized life is self-created (*Svabhāva-Siddhā*). These are all in mutual relation, and therefore exist only in virtue of such relationship; but by synthesizing them we come to the conception of the One called in Buddhism *Śūnyatā*, in Hinduism *Ākāś'a*, in Christianity God: these are all names for the Absolute—the Unchangeable Being. The Buddha *Vajra Sattva* (in the Mahāyāna School) is an approach to typifying the Absolute, the Self-created, called "*Svabhāva-Siddhā*." In the Tantric Buddhism of Tibet "Yab Sras gsum" the patriarch, with his wife and child,* typifies the Trinity, as known to us or manifested, by the Logos or the Word made flesh, to humanity as God, the Father, God, the Mother, and God, the Son. Metaphysically these are spirit, substance, and divine law or *Karma*. Now none of these, nor organized life is self-created, or *Svabhāva-Siddhā*.

In the plane of manifestation there is neither permanence nor reality,—it is not the plane of "enduring substance."† Let us analyse any object of sense, as a house. What is a house? Take all its parts, door, roof, pillar, etc.,—the house is none of them, nor is it the sum of them; it *is* not; it only exists in the relation of the parts and in name;—therefore it is not *Svabhāva-Siddhā*, or self-created This is the real doctrine of Buddhism—the doctrine of *Pratitya Samutpāda* (in Tibetan "*R*ten ching *h*bred *h*byung,") or one made existent through its relation and evolution.

Consistently with this doctrine, Buddhists do not believe in the existence of a Creator, and so there can be no creation. According to them, the world has existed from eternity, with the living beings in it also existing from eternity; and so spirit and substance are co-eternal. The indivisible spirit (*atma*), like absolute matter or atom, cannot cease to exist. Their quantity cannot be diminished nor increased. Of this world not one

* Most thoroughly is this teaching enforced in Rom. viii. 19 ("Heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ," etc., "that we may be also glorified together, with Him"), where St. Paul points to Christ, his Saviour and Teacher, and says, "Follow His teaching, become one with Him, you will then have inheritance and glory with Him." But Christ Himself shows a higher path. He points to the Father of all, and says, "Be ye, therefore, perfect [not as I am perfect, who have, on earth, taken upon me the weaknesses of humanity, but] even as your Father which *is in Heaven* is perfect." St. Paul says that humanity may become Christ, and Christ says that humanity may become God. [The writer's views are given, not necessarily endorsed.—Ed.]

† The atom or absolute matter is sometimes called in the Bible substance: "Ye have in heaven a better and enduring *substance*" (Heb. x. 34). "Enduring substance" means the unchangeable substance, or *Vajra Sattva*: *Vajra* means unchangeable, and *Sattva*, existence.

real particle or atom (as distinguished from phenomenal matter) can be lost. Therefore there is no such word as annihilation in Buddhist terminology.

An animate being, called *Satva* (organized life) is a compound existence in which spirit and substance are combined, being intimately connected together by a force called in Sanskrit *Karma*. It is possible for the spirit to become apparently separated from substance, as at each dissolution of the body called "*Death*." The spirit after each separation is attracted by the force of *Karma*, which remains inherent in it, to a fresh organized existence, be it that of a god, demon, or ghost, or a hell-being, which existence is always corporeal, though, in some cases, the body may be fine and in others gross.*

Now this force of *Karma* is of a mixed character. It is qualified by the moral actions of the animate being, *i.e.*, by the actions of the animate being in its relation to other animate beings. If the moral act is selfish, *i.e.*, if it is drawn towards its own self or interest, called *Svartha*, or Egoism which leads to sin, it will get a firm hold of the *self* so as to enchain it to matter; but if the *Karma* is unselfish and drawn towards the interest of others, *i.e.*, to *Parartha* or Altruism which leads to virtue, then it will gradually loose its hold on the *Self*. The *Karma* that leads to sin is like water coloured with a dark tincture; the *Karma* that leads to virtue from the absence of sin is like pure water, colourless.

The *Atma* or spirit then moves towards the state of *Mukti* or liberation from phenomenal matter, *i.e.*, the state of sin. The *Karma* that enchains the *self* or spirit to the body is called sin, and sin leads to utter darkness called *Avidya*. The *Karma* that gives it freedom (*Mukti*) is called virtue. It takes the spirit to *Bodhi* or enlightenment. When the spirit is absolutely free from sin and fully in virtue it is called *Samanta Bhadra*, the All-Good God, or Buddha, - in Tibetan "Sans-rgyas,"—the perfectly purified one. So a Buddha is evolved, set free from worldliness and organized existence gross or fine. Buddha is a purely spiritual entity, enlightened or sublimated by virtue or good *Karma*.

During the reign of king Khri Srong De*h*u-btsan (about 730 A.D.) a Buddhist priest of China visited Tibet and preached the doctrine of absolute inactivity, or what is vulgarly called, "do nothing." He taught that to obtain the state of perfect emancipation from transmigratory existence, the spirit should be absolutely free from *Karma*. He argued that as long as *Karma*, be it virtue or sin, remained, so long the spirit must also remain chained to transmigratory existence. Therefore, to get out of it one should neither commit sin nor practise virtue, as both of these would equally entangle him in worldliness and matter. The best course, therefore, for attaining to *Nirvāna*, according to him, was to do nothing. This Buddhist teacher was expelled from Tibet after his defeat in a controversy with the Indian philosopher, Kamala Sila, who preached the doctrine of *unselfish love* for all living beings, as the surest means of gaining *Nirvāna*.

During countless ages of the world, countless Buddhas have thus gone

* According to the Buddhists, the soul in perdition, in accordance with the law of *Karma* above mentioned, must incarnate in an animate body, *i.e.*, the soul does not go to hell *without a body*, but with some body or other. So also if the soul goes to heaven it must have a body, *rûpa*, or *Arûpa Sârira*.

to the state of absolute purity,—not one Buddha only, as is generally believed. The same fallacy, I may here observe, exists about Christ, who came to teach others to be Christs, as Buddha came to teach them to become Buddhas. The Buddhas are, therefore, called *Tathāgatas*, meaning "gone in this way," or gone there, *i.e.*, to *Visuddhi* (absolute purity). *Visuddhi* is a synonym for *Nirvāna*, and *Visuddhi Mārga* means the way to *Nirvāna*.

In the present *Kalpa* (great period), which (on account of the supposed appearance in this world of the Buddhas, Krakuchanda, Kanaka Muni, Kāsyapa, Sākya Muni, and Maitreya) is called the "Glorious Age," there will appear, according to "*M*do Kal-gyang," a thousand more Buddhas: owing to this auspicious circumstance this great period of time is called *Bhāddra Kalpa*, *i.e.*, the Glorious Age.

It is said that when the animate beings of the world begin to move towards sin, by aiming at material prosperity and sensual happiness, then no Buddhas appear; for men then long to attain to the state of celestial beings, such as Indra, Brahma, and other gods, and not, as they should do, to fuller purification and enlightenment. In consequence of the downward tendencies of all human beings, that time is called the "Dark Period." The position of the gods and the duration of the period of their bliss are determined, as in the case of human beings, by the extent of their moral merits, that is to say, the merits they shewed when they lived as men on earth, or in some sphere not Heaven. Thus the Wheel of Life turns:—Indra, Brahma, and others who were once "gods" in Heaven may to-day be ordinary mortal men, in exalted or in lowly sphere of life; and, *vice versâ*, the turn of the great wheel which one day exalts men to gods in Heaven and another brings down gods to be men on Earth explains two great truths, one of which is frequently lost sight of. We believe, pretty generally, what all Scriptures teach, namely—the divinity of man, or the "god" upon Earth, but we do not so generally believe in the often equally necessary truth, *viz.*, the humanity of God.

After the exhaustion of the merits with which terminates his celestial bliss, he has to revert to his former position, or to a worse state in this world; therefore, it is foolish on the part of man to lay out so much of his merits in the wrong direction instead of utilizing the same to the right end,—ensuring his attaining to the state of *Bodhi*, or Enlightenment.

Again, when living beings begin to get out of sin and gradually enter a purer existence by aiming at the acquirement of *Bodhi*, even sacrificing much of their material prosperity or happiness, then dawns the Bright Age. It is only then that the Buddhas appear in this world. At the termination of the last Dark Period, millions of years ago, when the present Bright Age (of which this *Bhādra Kalpa* is only a part) commenced, this earth, undergoing the cyclic changes caused by fire, wind, and water, became filled with all kinds of living beings, excepting man. Then two *Devaputras* (celestial beings) named Sûrya-Vibhása and Chandra-Vimala, whose term of heavenly bliss had expired, descended from the *Ābhāsvara* heaven to this earth and were transformed into human beings. They were soon followed by other gods seeking earth-life as human beings,—not because humanity is actually the pleasantest condition, but because in the human state occur the highest

opportunities of development. Opportunity is our heritage, said the Buddha. It may also be noted here that the stage of heavenly existence is considered undesirable, being inferior to that of man, for from humanity Buddhas are evolved. The gods, therefore, at the end of the dark period, naturally wish to be transformed into human beings.

At that time there was no limit to human life. Those early members of the human family subsisted on the food of divine contemplation, moved miraculously in space, and everywhere lighted by their own luminous persons. Then there existed no sun, moon, or stars: every human being was in himself a luminous body. In course of time, by the exhaustion of their merits and the insidious entrance of sin in their actions and behaviour, the patriarch Manu and his companions, tasted nectar and other delicious food and drink. This produced the necessity of daily evacuations. Their bodies became heavy with the unclean contents of their stomach, and lastly their bodily lustre and angelic beauty vanished. They now became conscious of pleasure and pain which were hitherto unknown to them. For a long time they subsisted on the bounty of nature. They plucked ripe fruits which grew within easy reach and ate them at their pleasure. In course of time the sense of good and bad, right and wrong, virtue and vice, dawned in their minds. On account of their food and the nourishment obtained therefrom, the desire for procreation came into their minds and they began to perceive the difference of sex; and from that time birth from the womb became the general rule in the human race. From the first procreation, nature ceased to supply mankind with her bounties as before.

There is a close connection between the fall of man and his taking food. It can be traced in many legends and in the mythologies of various races. Adam and Eve eat an apple; Proserpine eats a pomegranate, etc. Those early men now began to cultivate lands, grow corn, etc. Then division of property came into existence. Thus mankind fell into a condition of worldly misery and sufferings, from a state of heavenly bliss. Even on earth, mankind continued to enjoy the pleasures of heaven for a long time, till they lost those privileges on account of their gradually acquired sins.

In this fallen state they were cheered with one great hope, that of redemption, *i.e.*, deliverance from misery and pains - a privilege which was not the portion of the gods. It is not until the gods become human beings that redemption and hope arise. Pandora, a goddess presumably seeking earth-life, opened her casket (earth-life), and out flew all the ills that flesh is heir to; but at the bottom of all the sufferings she finds hope,—a hope which could only be realized through her redemption from the evils of her casket.

EIGHTH REVIEW ON THE

"SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

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JAINA SÛTRAS. PART II. THE UTTARÂDHYAYANA SÛTRA, —THE SÛTRAKRITÂNGA SÛTRA, TRANSLATED FROM PRAKRIT BY HERMANN JACOBI.

(Vol. XLV.)

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

The first part of this valuable collection of translations was reviewed by me in the July number of the A. Q. R. It formed Vol. XXII. of the "Sacred Books of the East" Series. The present instalment is even more interesting than the former. The two treatises which it contains were apparently written or compiled with the object of instructing young Jaina monks in the principles of their religion, fortifying them against heretical teachings, and guiding them in resisting the temptations to which the ascetic life is specially exposed. Other doctrinal and theoretical matter is also mixed up with the main subject, and as usual in works of this kind, there is such a total absence of all system in the arrangement of the materials that it is at times difficult to decide with what purpose any particular section has been introduced. It is, however, amusing reading in spite of—one might almost say, because of—its rambling discursive character. Human nature is very much the same in all ages and countries, and the advice given by Mahávíra to his neophytes on the banks of the Ganges in the sixth century before Christ finds a curious echo in the rules prescribed more than a thousand years later by Benedict for the monks of Monte Cassino, and later still by Francis at Assisi and Bernard at Clairvaux.

The Uttarâdhyayana, the first of the two treatises, contains thirty-six lectures some of which teach by direct injunction, others by illustration or parable. It is all strangely like Buddhism, yet with a perceptible difference. Recent research has placed it beyond reasonable doubt that Mahávíra was a contemporary of Buddha; and both he and his followers, the Nigganthas, are mentioned in several passages of the Buddhist scriptures. The sect was, however, older than Mahávíra, and it was consequently older than Buddhism. Mahávíra seems rather to have modified and developed, than to have founded it. Had not the pride of priority in time intervened, there seems to have been no very valid cause why the Jainas should not have gone over in a body to Buddhism,—so slight, from our point of view, do the differences between them seem. Thus in the first lecture "on discipline," the novice is taught the duties and conduct proper to be observed while still *in statu pupillari*. Then comes a long and curious list of the troubles or inconveniences which the ascetic must accustom himself to endure cheerfully. These are twenty-two in number; hunger, thirst, cold, heat, insects, nakedness, discontent, women, wandering, abode, lodging, abuse, blows, begging, refusal, illness, grass, dirt, respect, knowledge, ignorance and perfection. Some of these are easily understood but others require some explanation. Insects must be a great torture to a naked ascetic, but he must not destroy them, because they are living beings,

even though they eat his flesh and blood. Just so that very nasty person St. Simeon Stylites when the worms fell from his sores carefully replaced them lest they should suffer from loss of their legitimate food. Discontent means a feeling of growing weary of the ascetic life: this the ascetic must fight against. The fair sex, as might be expected where ascetics are concerned, comes in for a great deal of hard language both in this and the second treatise, the Sūtrakritānga. Indeed so lively and natural are the touches in the latter work, that one feels instinctively that the writer must have personally experienced what he describes. The lady who wishes to tempt a monk, we are told,* "will often sit down close to him, will always put on fine clothes, will show him her ankles or her arms by carelessly lifting her robe. She will gain his confidence, meekly and politely approaching him with manifold arts to win his heart, and talking sweetly in confidential conversation will make him do what she likes." (Sūtr. i. 4. 1.)

Again, "A young woman putting on fine ornaments and clothes will say to a Sramana (ascetic) 'I shall give up my former way of life, and practise austerities. Reverend Sir, teach me the Law!' Or by professing herself a lay disciple and co-religionist of the Sramana she will try to make a friend of him. As a pot filled with lac will melt near the fire, so even a wise monk will fall through intercourse with women." (Sūtr. *ib.*)

When the poor monk has fallen, his lot is deplorable, for, says the sage:—

"When a monk breaks the law, dotes on a woman, and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head."

She makes him fetch and carry with a vengeance. A dozen verses are filled with the errands she sends him on:—

"Fetch some fruit, bring wood to light the fire, scour the pots, rub my back, look after my clothes, go and get the dinner, get perfumes, oil, cosmetics, baskets to put things in—" and so on. "When a son, the reward of their wedded life, is born, the mother bids the father hold the baby. Thus some supporters of their sons have to carry burdens like camels. Getting up in the night they lull the baby asleep like nurses, and though ashamed of themselves they wash the clothes like washermen."

This was not written yesterday, good brother Benedicts, but twenty-five centuries ago! The moral deduced from this frightful picture is that one should abstain from the friendship and company of women. The true monk, it is said, "should live in company with other monks, upright and free from desire; he should abandon his former connexions and not longing for pleasures he should wander about as an unknown beggar. Then he is a true monk."

Another subject on which the authors of both treatises are fond of enlarging is Hell with its torments. They display very great ingenuity in treating this subject. Prince Mrigāputra for instance relates that in previous births he had undergone an extraordinary variety of tortures. Heat and cold begin the list; then he was roasted over a blazing fire in an oven, head-downwards, hung upside down over a boiler and sawn to pieces with several kinds of saws; fastened with fetters on a silk-cotton

* The quotations are condensed, and some expressions not suited to European taste are toned down.

tree and rubbed up and down against the thorns; crushed like sugar-cane in a press, torn to pieces by wild dogs, yoked to a car of red hot iron full of fuel, and driven by a goad; made to drink hissing molten copper, iron, tin, and lead; and several other pleasant performances.

Strange too is the elaborate classification and detailed list of living beings and things without life. As the destruction of life is forbidden it is above all things necessary that the student should know in what things life, even of the most rudimentary kinds, exists. First we are told there are things without life, some having a form, others formless. The formless things are Dharma, Adharma and Space. The first two (perhaps we may regard them as Kosmos and Chaos) fill the world, but Space fills the world and the non-world (loka and aloka). Time exists in the world of men, beyond this there is no time. Then the things having form are classified, divided and subdivided most minutely in regard to duration and development. This latter is fivefold: colour, smell, taste, touch and figure. The sage knows of five colours: black, blue, red, yellow, white; of two smells, sweet and bad; of five tastes, bitter, pungent, astringent, sour and sweet; of eight touches, hard, soft, heavy, light, cold, hot, smooth and rough; of five figures, globular, circular, triangular, square and long.

Secondly, living beings are classified. Primarily they fall into two great categories, those still belonging to the Saṃsāra or existence, and perfected souls. Perfected souls do not, as the Buddhists teach, attain to extinction, but, leaving their bodies here below, they go to the top of the world into a blissful place where they reside for ever in a condition more resembling the earlier Buddhist conception of Nirvâna. It is interesting to learn that the size of a perfected soul is two-thirds of the height which the individual had in his last existence; but as the possibility of an individual being three thousand feet high is admitted, two-thirds of that height may well be considered enough even for a perfected soul. As to the time it takes to reach perfection the instruction is not very clear; it is, however, laid down distinctly that one hundred and eight men reach perfection in the time that twenty women, four householders and ten heterodox take to achieve the same result.

Of the beings still belonging to the Saṃsāra there are two classes; movable and immovable. But here the enumeration becomes too minute and lengthy to be included in a review. It is extremely interesting as exhibiting the minerals, vegetables and animals known to the ancient Indians; or at least the principal of them, for the list can hardly be regarded as exhaustive.

Much more might be written on this most entertaining book, but perhaps enough has now been said to show that it is a perfect mine of information on the Jaina religion, and the moral standard of the time in which it was written, as well as on the habits and customs of the people, the natural history and the conditions of existence generally in those far-off ages. The excellence of the translation and the helpfulness of the notes cannot be too highly praised. It is much to be hoped that the learned Professor, to whom scholars owe already so deep a debt of gratitude for his labours in respect to Prakrit in general, and the Prakrit of the

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By Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.,

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I propose to give a brief sketch of the life and work of a great personality, who, for nearly 20 years, was the moving spirit of the western frontier of India; a personality of special interest at the present time, because it was in no small measure owing to his influence and example that a great change has been brought about, in recent years, in the attitude of the Supreme Government of India towards the tribes of the North West frontier; a change which has more or less revolutionised the military situation and made our "sphere of influence" no longer a mere diplomatic expression but a reality.

But, before proceeding further, let me briefly explain my title to speak on the subject. During all the earlier period of Sir Robert Sandeman's career I held the position of Secretary to the Punjab Government, which, under the directions of the Government of India, conducted the relations of the British Government with the tribes inhabiting 800 out of the 1,200 miles of mountain range which constitute our North Western boundary; after this for two years (at a critical period of Sir Robert's career) I acted as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, which directed the policy throughout the entire border-line; then I enjoyed his personal friendship for nearly 30 years and have been recently engaged upon a Memoir of his life, which is on the eve of publication by Messrs. Murray, and, with their kind permission, forms the basis of the present paper.

I will not dwell long upon Sandeman's early life. Suffice it to say that he was a native of Perth; of the same family as the present Governor of the Bank of England and as the remarkable Robert Sandeman, who, in the latter half of the last century, gave his name to a sect of Christians, among whom patience, perseverance and benevolence are regarded as cardinal virtues and who, at his death in 1771, was engaged in a noble but unsuccessful attempt to re-establish peace and goodwill between the American colonists and the mother country. Sir R. Sandeman never joined the sect, but had much of the religious earnestness which characterizes its members.

His father was an Indian officer of distinction, who commanded his regiment, the 33rd N.I., at the great battles of Ferozshuhur and Sobraon, and was known in after years, during the great Mutiny, as one of the most devoted friends of the British Sepoy. After being educated at Perth Academy and St. Andrews' University young Sandeman obtained a cadet-

* This paper was read at a recent meeting of the East India Association; the interesting discussion that took place on it and the Proceedings of the Meeting that was held on the subject are recorded elsewhere in this Review.—Ed.

ship in the East India Company's service. I cannot find that he distinguished himself either in school or college—on the contrary, in after years he used to repeat with infinite humour the parting words of his old schoolmaster, the Rector of Perth Academy, when he called to say goodbye. "Robert Sandeman!" said the Rector, speaking with a broad Scotch accent, "Robert Sandeman! ye did little work at school, but I wish ye well. And I would not be the Saracen of Bagdad or the Tartar of Samarkund that comes under the blow of your sabre."

These words describe, quaintly but effectively, some of the main features of Sir Robert's character. He was indeed a "stalwart" in the best sense. A true knight, strong-in-the-arm and determined, but always courteous; with no pretence to high scholarship, but none the less deserving of the blessings of the community. He was all this, and a good deal more besides, as our subsequent history will show. But he was the friend, not the foe, of the "Saracen" and "Tartar," and force was the last weapon of his armoury.

In 1856 he proceeded to India and joined his father's regiment, then in the Kangra district of the Punjab, as ensign.

Then came the great mutiny of 1857. On its occurrence, Sandeman's regiment was ordered to proceed to Delhi, but when at Philor, on the Satlaj, orders were received for its disarmament as a precautionary measure. These orders caused the elder Sandeman great indignation but, thanks to his son's influence, they were carried out without disturbance; the Sepoys remained staunch and their arms were subsequently restored to them upon parade.

On the disarmament of his regiment, young Sandeman volunteered for active service before Delhi and was attached to a European regiment with which he served during the siege of Delhi and afterwards at the capture of Jhajhar. He then joined a Cavalry regiment, then being raised for service in Oude, a regiment afterwards honourably known as Probyn's Horse, and took part in the Siege of Lucknow, the action at Musabagh and the subsequent operations in pursuit of the rebels. He was present when his Commanding Officer was mortally wounded and carried him in his arms to a place of shelter. He was himself twice severely wounded and had his horse shot under him and General Roberts has borne testimony to the splendid courage he exhibited as a subaltern during these two years.

At the end of the war, he accepted civil employ under the Punjab administration, then directed by the great Sir John Lawrence and, after two years' employment in Cis-Indus districts, was posted to the frontier.

To enable you to understand and appreciate what follows, it is here necessary to describe briefly :- -

First the leading features of the N.W. Frontier of India and the policy pursued towards the tribes inhabiting it, up to Sandeman's arrival on the scene;

I shall, then, describe—very briefly I am sorry to say—the work Sandeman did upon the frontier and the great changes he effected;

Then consider his character and the secret of his success, and lastly its results.

By the conquest of Sind in 1843 and the annexation of the Punjab in

1849, the North-west Frontier of British India was advanced across the river Indus to the foot of the rocky mountain ranges which separate the plains of the Indus Valley from the higher plateaus of Afghanistan and Khelat.

These mountain ranges—together with an off-shoot of the Himalayas on the east side of the Indus (known as the Black Mountain)—form a vast irregular belt of independent or semi-independent territory, extending from the Khágán glen, immediately west of Kashmir, round the British Districts of Pesháwar, Kohát, and Bannú, and then in a long stretch southward down the Indus Valley to the Sind seaboard near Karáchi—a total length (including deflections) of 1,200 miles.

But the mighty barrier thus formed is pierced by several natural highways formed by streams. In the North, the Khaibar Pass connects the Pesháwar Valley with Kábul; in the centre the Tochi and Gúmal Passes connect the plains of the Indus with Ghazni and South Afghanistan; while the Mulla, the Bolán and the Khojak Passes connect the plains of Sind with the plateaus of Khelát and Kandahár; and through these and other similar routes from time immemorial has passed the trade between Afghanistán, Balúchistán and India.

The belt of territory above described was inhabited by fierce marauding tribes, amounting in all to nearly 200,000 fighting men, armed, for the most part, with buckler, sword and matchlock,—often at war with each other, ever and anon harrying the plains of the Punjab and Sind, and the constant terror of trade-caravans during their journey through the Passes.

Of the tribes those around and north of the Takht-I-Sulimán are Patáns,(1) in race and language akin to the Afghans of Kábul, some of them independent, some recognising the Amír of Kábul as their suzerain; those south of the Takht are Balúchis, speaking mongrel dialects of Persian overlaid with Sindi and Punjabi words; at the time we speak of most of them were practically independent but, when convenient to themselves, recognised as their suzerain the ruler of Khelát.

Both races are predatory, revengeful, and regardless of human life, but in some respects they differ widely; the Patán is a republican, governed, so far as he is governed at all, by the Jirgah,(2) or Council of his tribe; and has little reverence for the person of his chief; but he is at the same time fanatical and priestridden; the Balúch is aristocratic and respects and obeys the hereditary chief of his clan; is less fickle, less treacherous, and less fanatical, or to put the matter epigrammatically "has less of God in his creed and less of the devil in his nature."

It will be seen therefore that the Balúch is by nature more manageable than the Patán, and consequently better suited for initial experiments in a peace-and-goodwill policy; but it will be seen that Sandeman was able to manage both.

With neighbours so warlike and bloodthirsty, it was necessary to make special arrangements for the proper protection of our new boundary.

The particular measures to be taken were left to the local governments concerned; thus, the portion between the seaboard and Kasmore on the

(1), (2): See notes at the end of this article.

Indus, a distance of some 400 miles, was entrusted to the Government of Sind; the portion from Kasmore to the Khá_án Glen—a distance of some 800 miles—was entrusted to the Government of the Punjab.

But though each local Government was left a fairly free hand, the general policy of border defence adopted was greatly affected by recent events. The disasters of the first Afghán war and the tragical episode at Khelát were fresh in men's recollection, and created a strong feeling against any political interference with tribes or countries beyond our border. Russia was still far off, and we had no treaty with the Kábul Chief; it was accordingly the aim and object of the Government, while providing adequately for the defence of the frontier, to have as little as possible to do with tribes and states beyond.

The systems of border defence adopted by these two Governments differed a good deal. That of Sind was essentially military; that of the Punjab was (owing to circumstances) partly military, partly political and conciliatory. While the passes were carefully watched and the frontier road patrolled by the Frontier Force, every means was taken for the promotion of friendly intercourse. Customs duties were abolished; a tax levied by the Sikhs on foreigners was discontinued, and the land tax on the holdings of independent tribesmen was reduced to a nominal sum; roads were made, connecting the Frontier Passes with the market-towns; free hospitals and dispensaries were established; steamers for the conveyance of passengers and goods were started on the Upper Indus; and inundation canals, a priceless boon in rainless tracts, extending cultivation and affording food and work to thousands, were vigorously developed in the Southern Deraját.

So long as they were friendly, the tribesmen had free access to British territory; they were welcome to hold land, temporarily or permanently, to enlist in our army and make use of our markets, hospitals and dispensaries, and some of the wild spirits of the frontier, representatives of tribes or sections of tribes adjoining, were utilised as a local militia in aid of the regular troops; and all officers were strictly charged in their dealings with frontier tribes, to do their utmost to develop friendly feelings and settle misunderstandings by firmness, tact, and personal ascendancy rather than by force of arms.

But on one point, as we have seen, the systems of both Sind and the Punjab were identical; they were both based upon the principle of rigid non-intervention with tribes beyond the border. The tribesmen were to be received with friendliness if they came into our territory, but their call was never to be returned. And in the Punjab it was a well understood rule that no officer was to risk his life across the border without special sanction, or to dream of its extension beyond present limits.

However the result of this "close border" system was up to a certain extent eminently successful. In Sind under the vigorous and just rule of General John Jacob the peace of the border was admirably maintained, and, thanks to the construction of canals and roads and a wise administration, the prosperity of the Sind Frontier District was marked.

In the Punjab the constant and deadly hatred prevailing in Sikh times

between the hill tribes and the officials and people of the plains soon disappeared; raids once chronic became exceptional; cultivation on the British side of the border advanced with rapid strides—even to glens and passes beyond our own immediate frontier; the bazaars of the frontier stations teemed with hill-men, and *poindahs* (warrior-merchants) from Ghazni, with trains of laden camels, streamed out of the Gúmal Pass, laid down their arms and, leaving their women in black tents encamped on British soil, spread themselves as peaceful traders throughout India; returning at the close of the cold season, their camels laden with piece goods, indigo and copper, to fight their way back across the hills. Members of frontier clans prayed for our protection; the people of Upper Miranzai voluntarily became our subjects; the people of Daur more than once sought to be transferred to British rule; parties of Wazíris, the most warlike and predatory of the frontier tribes, settled down as peaceful cultivators on the Tánk border, and the Bithannis, a robber clan, took land in Bannu; service in our army and militia was eagerly sought after, thousands found relief in our hospitals, and disputes were voluntarily referred by independent tribesmen for the arbitrament of British officers.

Such are some of the results of Lawrence's Frontier Policy. They were great and deserve to be recorded. But the success achieved must not blind us to the evil effects of the over-cautious restrictions to which we have adverted. These restrictions, suitable enough at the time they were imposed, became, as time went on, not only uncalled for, but positively detrimental to our interests; they tied the hands of District Officers and effectually checked the growth of political influence among the trans-border tribes; and would have continued to do so, if they had not (as this history will show) been boldly set aside—by Sandeman.

At the time of his advent, the Lawrence system had been in force for more than thirteen years, nevertheless our relations with the tribes, though far friendlier than they had been in times past, were by no means satisfactory. The Patán in his native hills was still fickle and treacherous, and the Balúch was little better; tribal factions and inter-tribal feuds still went on beyond our border, leaving the wilder spirits a free hand to plunder in the plains. Quarrels about irrigation or the sex still led to outrages in British territory; blood-feuds with British subjects were still rife on the Patán frontier, leading to acts of vengeance, in which, however, the single assassin generally took the place of the marauding band. The evil was greatly lessened in intensity, but it was still there, for no one was allowed to deal with it at its source; and, from time to time, some serious raid or outrage, for which no satisfaction would be given, necessitated a blockade, or, if that was ineffectual, an expedition. The expeditions (some fifteen in number) were admirably conducted and invariably successful: that is to say, crushed all opposition, destroyed homesteads, and secured the submission of the tribe, but as the troops promptly returned to British territory, and submission involved no forfeiture, the effect, though beneficial for a time, was not calculated to be lasting.

In short, the influence of the British District Officer, excellent so far as it went, was too remote to effect material change in the conduct of the

tribes, while the fear of our military strength, though it tended to prevent large raids, certainly did not develop friendly feeling. It thus happened that, after nearly thirty years of British rule, the hills immediately adjoining the Punjab frontier were almost as much *terra incognita* as the hills of central Africa; that the trade routes were still unprotected, that Tírah, the summer haunt of the Afridis, was, and is still, strictly closed to Englishmen, while the Takht-i-Sulimán, the mighty pine-crowned ridge, which looks scornfully over the plains of Dera Ismael Khan, was unvisited by Europeans until the year 1883.

Such was the state of the Punjab frontier when Lieutenant Sandeman entered on his duties. He soon gave evidence of special aptitude for frontier work; he was not learned in the law but had plenty of good sense, patience, bonhomie and dash; and was particularly successful in dealing with *jirgahs*, or committees of village or tribal elders appointed to discuss affairs. He first served (1862) in Peshawar and Yusufzai, where he was brought in contact with Afridis, Momands and tribes from the Swat Valley and Boner. While thus employed he took part in the Ambela Campaign against the Wahábi fanatics at Malka supported by the Swat tribes. On this occasion he was placed in command of a force of 1,000 tribesmen and charged with the duty of keeping open communications with the front; and his activity and usefulness and the admirable manner in which he organized his motley army during the campaign elicited hearty commendation.

In 1864 he was transferred to Hazára, a lovely Himalayan valley at the foot of the Black Mountain, and in 1865 was sent to Bannú, a green oasis in the North West corner of the frontier, at the foot of hills occupied by the Wazíris, the most numerous and warlike of all the border tribes; and in the early part of 1866 he was selected by Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant Governor, to act as District Officer of Dera Gházi Khan, at the southern end of the Punjab frontier where he laid the foundation of his future fame.

Let us now see what was the situation on that part of the frontier with which Sandeman had now to deal.

Having had experience in dealing with the republican Patáns, he had now to deal with the aristocratic Balúch.

In his own district of Dera Ghazi Khan were several Balúch tribes, some with lands on both sides the border, but they were in a disorganized condition and at loggerheads with each other. Adjoining or in proximity to his district were the Marris and Bugtis —two Balúch robber tribes for years the terror of the border villages, and the Bozdárs who had recently suffered the chastisement of a military expedition. Beyond the border on the west and outside his jurisdiction was the territory of the Khanate of Khelát,—an extensive tract of mountainous country, a good deal larger than Great Britain, commanding the principal highways between India, Kandahár and Persia, viz. the Bolán and Mulla Passes, inhabited by various Balúch and Brahúi tribes; some loosely federated under the Khelát chief, some practically independent. Between the Khan and his confederate chiefs an internecine war had been going on for years, murder and rapine were

rampant everywhere, while trade through the passes was seriously interfered with.

Between Khelát territory and Afghanistán proper were two valleys, Pishín and Sibi, nominally under the Afgháns, but continually harried by marauders; and between these valleys and the Punjab, in rear of the Sulimans, a tract of no-man's land inhabited by independent Patán tribes, with valleys irrigable by mountain streams, but more or less desolate from intertribal feuds.

Sandeman first took in hand the British Balúch tribes of his own district. With marvellous skill he acquired their confidence, and the enthusiastic devotion of their *tumandárs*, or chiefs. Then he turned his attention to the Balúch tribes beyond the frontier—the Bugtis, the Marris and the Bozdárs. But here he was in a difficulty, because two of these three tribes were under the suzerainty of the Khan of Khelát, and the relations of the British Government with the Khan were then in the hands of the Government of Sind, and the policy of the Government of Sind towards the frontier tribes was different from that of the Punjab. This brought him into collision with the Sind Government, and a keen controversy of some years' duration ensued. But he was able, during this period, to extend his influence with considerable effect. Early in 1867 a noted Bugti freebooter, at the head of a mixed gathering of Marris, Bugtis and Khetráns, made a raid on Harrand. The tribes on the British side, reorganized and inspired by their new District Officer, in conjunction with thirty troopers from the military outpost, attacked and utterly defeated the raiders in the Cháchar Pass, taking 200 prisoners. This led to an interesting gathering of tribal chiefs summoned by Sandeman at Rájánpur, at which arrangements were made for the protection of the border, and the system of tribal service, which afterwards played so important a part in Sandeman's arrangements, was first tried by him on a small scale.

In the same year, by his influence with the trans-border tribes, he caused a Balúch chief, who had the temerity to seize and carry off Lieutenant Grey, the District Officer of an adjoining district, to be hunted down and given up to justice without moving a soldier across the border.

In 1868 he took another step in advance. Oblivious of standing orders, he boldly crossed the border and made a tour for twenty days in the interior of the hills without military protection of any kind, escorted by tribal chiefs, under whose guidance he paid friendly visits to the headquarters of all the principal clans,—localities where, three years previously, the life of a European would have been exceedingly precarious.

This was a particularly hazardous proceeding, because he not only risked his life but his career. But it was completely successful and fortunately the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir D. McLeod, was sympathetic, so that his irregularity was condoned and his success was the commencement of a new era in our relations with the Balúch border-tribes. For his intercourse with the tribal chiefs and Brahúi vassals of the Khan of Khelát led him, in common with the Political Superintendent of the Sind Frontier, strongly to doubt the equity and expediency of the policy pursued by the Sind Government; which had hitherto dealt with the Khan on the footing of an

autocratic ruler and not, as he really was, the head of a confederacy of tribes; while the Khan employed the subsidy granted by the British Government not for the protection of trade or the improvement of his administration, but in organizing a standing army of ruffians to coerce the other members of the confederacy. Sandeman urged in conjunction with Col. (now Genl. Sir R.) Phayre, Pol. Supt. of the Sind Frontier, that an attempt should be made, by friendly intervention, to terminate a state of things, which menaced the peace of our own territory. But the advice was not heeded at the time.

I will not weary you by describing the political discussions which ensued; suffice it to say that, under instructions from the Government of India, the Commissioner in Sind attempted, after full inquiry, to settle the disputes between the Khan and the Sirdárs, but his award satisfied neither party; and in 1873 the state of affairs in Khelát was such that the Commissioner recommended that the Khan should be deposed by a military force and a more amenable successor placed upon the throne. But at this juncture Sandeman repeated his suggestion; he recommended that, before military coercion was resorted to, an attempt should be made to effect a settlement of affairs by the friendly deputation of British officers accompanied by British Baluch chiefs.

This proposal was strongly objected to by Sind, but was ultimately accepted by Lord Northbrook's Government.

Sandeman, accordingly, was twice sent on a mission to Khelát. On the first occasion he and his tribal following were received with the greatest friendliness, but there was some difficulty as to the extent of his powers and he had to return. But, just before his retirement from the Viceroyship, Lord Northbrook decided to send him on a second mission armed with full credentials and accompanied by a large escort. Sandeman started on his second mission at the commencement of the hot weather of 1876. Miles of desert and defile, without a blade of vegetation, had to be traversed before the Khelát uplands could be reached, but he decided to proceed; he was ignorant whether the new Viceroy would support Lord Northbrook's policy, but he still pushed on; cholera attacked his escort and the caravans accompanying him, and pressure was put upon him to return, but he scouted the idea; he himself was struck down for a time by a choleraic seizure but he pulled himself together and went on, and, in spite of dangers and difficulties, brought his mission to a triumphant issue. A great meeting of the Khan and chiefs was held at Mastung; all matters in dispute were inquired into and equitably settled, and he thus succeeded, without firing a shot, in terminating an internecine struggle of 20 years' duration and reopening the Bolán Pass for traffic.

To maintain the peace he had established he induced the Khan and chiefs to constitute the British Government the final referee in all future disputes between the Khan and his Sirdárs or the tribes. These arrangements were embodied in a new Treaty which was executed by the high contracting parties (Lord Lytton and the Khan) in December 1876 at Jacobábád. This treaty practically secured for the British Government supreme power in the Khanate, a territory larger than Great Britain with a

sea board of 600 miles, command of the principal highways between India, Kandahár and Persia and a military position (at Quetta) which is (or can be made) impregnable. And under the provisions of the same Treaty Quetta was occupied by British troops in 1876, and is now a large military station.

Throughout this extensive region he was able, as British representative, working chiefly through *Jirgahs*, or Committees of tribal Chiefs, to settle outstanding quarrels, allay animosities, and make tribal warfare cease,—winning, at the same time, the affection of Khan and chiefs and tribesmen, over whom he exercised commanding influence till death.

The advantage of the position he had secured in Balúchistan was soon apparent, for in 1878 war broke out between the British Government and the Amír of Kábul and it became necessary to march a British force from Multán to Kandahár. In order to march troops to Kandahár it was necessary to pass through about 250 miles of Khelát territory through the Bolán Pass, before reaching the Afghan district of Pishín. If therefore the Afghán War had occurred three years sooner our troops, for the first 250 miles of their march, would practically have been journeying through an enemy's country and the task of protecting our communications and of procuring transport and supplies would have been enormously increased. As it was our army marched through a friendly country to the Afghan border with all the resources in transport and supplies of a united Khelát state placed freely and even enthusiastically at its disposal.

But during this eventful period, Sandeman rendered other services equally valuable though little known beyond the precincts of the Indian Foreign Office. He kept the Government of India supplied with reliable information regarding affairs in Southern Afghanistan; he succeeded in detaching the Patán tribes immediately north of Quetta from the side of the Afghán ruler; he opened friendly communications with parties in Kandahár; he quietly collected and stored up grain in view of eventual hostilities; and, lastly, he succeeded in doing what once seemed almost hopeless, but was of vital importance at the time,—in thoroughly convincing the Khelát chief that it was best for his interests to remain loyal to the British Government.

Early in 1879 he accompanied the advance column of General Biddulph's force in its adventurous return-march from Pishín across the hills to the Punjab and was present at the action at Baghao. After the massacre of the embassy in September of that year Sir Robert (he was made a K.C.S.I. after the first part of the war and no decoration was ever better earned) nipped in the bud and crushed what might have been a formidable rising of the tribes upon our flank; but during the skirmish (in the Chappar Mountain) received a bullet through his helmet; he was the first to suggest the route ultimately taken for the railway through the Harnai Valley; after the disaster of Maiwand his prompt action in abandoning the railway works and pushing on all available troops for the relief of Kandahár earned special commendation; after General Roberts' victory at Kandahár when commissariat arrangements for feeding the troops had broken down, he was able by his influence with the local chiefs to arrange to despatch to Kandahár and Quetta from the base at Sibi six months'

supply of food (a formidable undertaking considering the difficulties of procuring carriage) and received the special thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the services he had rendered.

After the war he was mainly instrumental in adding to the British Empire a new province of much strategic importance. He had recommended this measure so far back as 1879 and under the treaty of Gandamak, executed by Yakúb Khan, after the first part of the Afghan War, these districts were assigned to the British Government, subject to the payment of the surplus revenues to the Amír of Kábul. But at the termination of the second portion of the Afghan War it was proposed to restore these districts to Afghánistán by many men of light and leading, including Lord Wolseley, Sir F. Baring (now Lord Cromer), General Sir Henry Norman and even Sir Henry Rawlinson; but Sandeman, who was in England on short leave, devoted nearly 6 months out of his hard earned furlough to pressing upon the authorities in England the paramount importance of retaining the territory under British administration, and completing the railway (already partially constructed) through the Harnai to Pishin.

He wrote letters, prepared memoranda, interviewed everybody who had anything to say to the decision; haunted the chambers of the political Secretary at the India Office, worried the members of the Council, and what was more to the purpose, gave substantial reasons for the course he advocated. After protracted discussion it was decided that the districts in question, with the exception of the Shoráwak Valley, should be retained under British administration. The retention was at first sanctioned as a temporary arrangement but ultimately as a permanent one and eventually the districts were in 1887 formally incorporated with British territory under the somewhat inappropriate designation of "British Balúchistan."(4)

These districts Sir Robert Sandeman brought under the direct administration of the British Government and his work in so doing, though less attractive perhaps than his work as a "political," is hardly less important.

They are inhabited chiefly by Patán tribes, of all frontier races perhaps the most unmanageable;—turbulent, fanatical, priest-ridden, full of fierce enmities and factions, and unaccustomed to orderly government of any sort.

Yet in the space of a few years he succeeded, by firm and kindly treatment, in bringing these unruly elements into perfect order; so that, at the present time, there is no part of British India in which our Government is at once more efficient and more popular. He maintained peace and order; had justice promptly administered with as little interference as possible with native usages. Associated chiefs and tribesmen with us in the work of government. Made roads employing tribesmen on the work; provided medical aid for the people; developed irrigation; preserved forests; promoted surveys and laid the foundations of education. And the Revenue, at the present time, nearly, if not quite, defrays the cost of its administration.

And he connected the new province with the Punjab not only by the Railway to which we have referred but also by a road about 300 miles in

length passing through the territories of 12 warlike tribes or sections of tribes, for which it found employment, and by which it is now guarded. Trade and prosperity have increased by leaps and bounds and Quetta which in 1875 was a miserable mud fort including a few wretched houses is now a large military station with some 10 thousand inhabitants; with well ordered bazaars, a townhall, marketplace, three hospitals, a bank, a public library, a club, an Institute, 2 hotels, 2 or 3 churches, grand avenues of trees and one of the finest polo plains in India.

But one of the greatest works achieved by Sir Robert Sandeman is yet to be described—his work in bringing under British control and influence the independent Patán tribes in the triangular tract of no-man's land in rear of the Suliman Mountains between the Gumal Valley and the Marri Hills; and in opening the Gumal Pass for traffic. The territory referred to is some 18,000 square miles in extent,—that is to say larger than Switzerland and more than twice the size of the principality of Wales. Under the Duráni Empire the tract was known as Sewistán—that is the country of the Sewahs, a Hindoo race once dominant in the Brahuic plateau, but latterly it has borne the generic designation of Yághistán—a name applied to all tracts inhabited by independent and unruly tribes.

It includes three main valleys,—the Zhob Valley, extending for upwards of 130 miles from Hindúbágh near the east end of Pishín in a crescent shape and a north-easterly direction to the Gúmal river. The Bori Valley running from east to west, upwards of 100 miles in length. The Barkhán Valley, watered by the Káho stream which enters the plains of the Punjab near Harrand; and a multitude of minor valleys, all more or less capable of cultivation, but many desolate, owing to intertribal feuds—with an average altitude above the sea of upwards of 3,000 feet. From time to time, at the request of the tribal chiefs, Sir Robert was permitted to extend the British protectorate to portions of the tract, the tribes agreeing, in return for peace and order and employment on making and protecting roads, to pay a light land revenue to Government. In this way the Bori and Barkhán Valleys were occupied, and a cantonment located at Loralai in the former valley.

So far back as 1884, after an expedition under the command of Sir O. Tanner, the Zhobis submitted to the British Government, but it had not been deemed desirable to occupy their country. But in 1888, after a visit paid to Zhob by Sir Robert Sandeman, accompanied by a following of Balúch and Brahúi Chiefs, the Zhob chiefs petitioned for British protection. Sir Robert pointed out to the Supreme Government the importance of occupying the Zhob valley; an importance based partly on commercial and political, and partly on military, grounds—as a means, on the one hand, of opening for traffic the Gúmal Pass, and improving our relations with the adjacent tribes, and, on the other, of shortening, strengthening and improving our line of frontier defence. Efforts had been made by the Punjab Government for many years past to secure the proper protection of traders through the Gúmal Pass, but without success. Sir Robert Sandeman now pointed out that, by availing ourselves of the offer of the Zhob chiefs, we should be in a far better position for obtaining

command of the Gúmal Pass than by efforts directed from the Punjab side. His proposal was ultimately agreed to, and the occupation of the Zhob Valley was carried out with perfect success; arrangements were made with the Wazíri tribe for the protection of the Gúmal Pass, and Sandeman with his escort and following of tribal chiefs, passed without mishap over the Guleri Kotal, and emerged triumphantly on the plains of Tánk on the 29th January 1890. His brilliant success was the theme of admiration throughout India. "Sir Robert Sandeman," said the *Pioneer*, "throughout his meritorious course of service to the State has never done a better piece of work than this." In a Government Dispatch his performance is described as "one of the most brilliant and successful frontier operations of recent years," and in further recognition of his services the official designation of the head quarters of the new Agency in Zhob was changed from Apozai to Fort Sandeman.

Sir Robert's own feelings are described in a letter from Simla, dated August 2nd, 1890. "Everyone here seems inclined to treat me as a hero. I hate that sort of thing. I am happy though at the thought that perhaps I may have done good work for my country."

Next year he was engaged in organising the administration of the new Agency, which already more than paid the expenses of its administration; and in accompanying Sir George White, then commanding at Quetta, on a military reconnaissance through the Zhob Valley; in the course of which a robber's stronghold at Thanishpa, 8,400 feet above the sea, was captured and destroyed; the force then thoroughly explored the country and successfully coerced a recalcitrant section of a tribe which occupied a settlement near the crest of the Takht-i-Suliman.

Sir Robert then proceeded, in spite of a severe accident by which his knee was badly crushed, from the extreme east to the extreme west of his jurisdiction; and endeavoured to make effective arrangements for peace and order in Makrán. After a short visit to England he returned to India and in January 1892 left Quetta for Lus Beyla for the purpose of settling a dispute between the Jám or chief of Lus Beyla and his son, and of conferring with the officials and tribal chiefs of Makrán regarding the administration of their country. On the journey he contracted influenza which developed into pneumonia, of which he died January 29th 1892, while encamped at Lus Beyla.

I will not attempt to describe the closing scene, but all who wish to learn how a brave and good man can die, should read the simple narrative of Lady Sandeman which forms a chapter in the coming Memoir. But let us at this point look back for a while and briefly review the work that he accomplished.

When Sandeman first took charge of the Dera Ghazi Khan district eighteen years ago he found the British Balúch tribes disorganised, the Marris and their congeners unfriendly, and their hills a *terra incognita*; the Khelát State desolate from anarchy and civil war of years' duration, the trade routes to Afghanistan and Khelát, the Khaibar, the Tochi, the Gúmal, the Khojak, the Bolán, the Mulla, either closed altogether or infested by marauding tribes.

During the eighteen years of his strong and sympathetic rule all this is changed. With marvellous skill he won the hearts of the Balúch tribes on both sides the border, then used his influence to terminate anarchy in Khelát, and, thanks to his system of tribal service, three out of five passes, namely the Khaibar, the Gúmal, and the Bolán are now safely guarded, the latter being almost superseded by a railway which he strongly advocated in the first instance, and pushed on to completion after its temporary abandonment, while a new road, connecting the plains of the Punjab with the highlands of Pishín, has been constructed by the labour of the tribesmen through whose territory it passes.

Through his persistent advocacy two frontier districts of great strategic importance have been acquired and administered with perfect success; British influence has been extended throughout Baluchistan to the borders of Persia, and the Patán tribes of the Sulimans have come voluntarily under our protection. The clans of Waziristan will soon, it may be hoped, follow their example, and be dealt with, in common with other border tribes, on the system of "subsidised control"; the proposals for the administration of Makrán will, it is hoped, be ultimately carried out, and thus, thanks to Sandeman, the limits of the *pax Britannica* will be extended from the Indus Valley to the confines of Afghánistán and Persia, and our entire Western boundary become conterminous with comparatively stable governments.

Indeed when we compare Balúchistán and its frontier, as it is, with what it was just 18 years ago, we are sorely tempted to a commonplace about the "magician's wand"; but there was no magic in the matter; it was mainly the work of one man. I say mainly the work of one man and I mean it. But, in praising the agent I have no desire to ignore the principals—the statesmen, civil and military, on whose ultimate responsibility his work was carried out. Whatever opinions may be held regarding the policy and proceedings which plunged us into the late Afghan War, few will deny that our action in respect to Balúchistán,—action initiated by Lord Mayo's Government, followed up by Lord Northbrook's, vigorously developed by Lord Lytton, carried on by Lord Ripon and Lord Dufferin (in whose Viceroyship the assigned districts were incorporated with British territory) and Lord Lansdowne, who sanctioned the occupation of the Zhob Valley—has been productive of marked benefit to the people and the empire. To all concerned in the good work done, the Empire in general and Balúchistán in particular owe a hearty vote of thanks.

Sir Robert Sandeman's death, being quite unexpected, caused, as might be supposed, a profound sensation throughout Balúchistán and India. By the Government it was declared to be "a public misfortune." The press in India regarded his loss as "irreparable." Time does not permit of my quoting from these notices, or from the innumerable letters of condolence received by the bereaved widow,—from the Viceroy and Governors of provinces, from officials of all ranks, from feudatory chiefs, from communities of Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Parsees, and from individuals of comparatively humble position. But I will mention one fact. On receipt of the news, His Highness the Khan of Khelát telegraphed his

condolences, and wrote to Lady Sandeman a letter kindly intended but remarkable in terms. In it His Highness declares his profound grief at the loss of his friend, but adds an expression of surprise that it should be intended to bury the remains at Lus Beyla. "The remains of Sir Robert Sandeman," he proceeds, "should be buried either in his native home in England or in my dominions, and if," he adds, "the Lus Beyla chief objects, I am prepared to send an army and forcibly convey the body from his territory to Quetta."

The spectacle here presented of Mahommedan chiefs contending for the body of a deceased Christian Resident is probably as unique in history as it is significant.

Let us proceed to consider—what was the secret of Sir Robert Sandeman's success?

His success is to be attributed partly to his methods, and partly to his personal character.

Of the methods he employed two of the most important are

1st. His system of tribal service; and

2nd. his system of working, so far as possible, through Jirgahs or Committees of tribal Chiefs.

By the first he made chiefs and tribesmen pecuniarily interested in the maintenance of peace; by the latter he kept in touch with the people and associated them in the work of administration.

The system of tribal service was not invented by him, but was greatly extended and developed. It consists in the free employment of natives of the country under their chiefs (on liberal wages) in making and protecting roads and otherwise assisting in the work of maintaining order. It has been often denounced as "black-mail" but in the Memoir, where the system is fully described, this charge is shown to be quite groundless.

The system of working through Jirgahs is also an old one, but is none the worse for that. In a word his system may be described as one of tribal service, or "subsidised control" and tribal self-government under British supervision.

As for his character, I have endeavoured to describe its component elements in a character sketch, which forms a separate chapter in the Memoir and is too long to quote at length.

In that chapter I have called attention to his unflinching courage moral as well as physical, his indomitable energy and tenacity of purpose, his honesty and unselfishness, his staunchness as a friend, his cheeriness, courtesy and accessibility; his instinctive insight into character; his freedom from anything like favouritism; his ubiquitousness and fondness for seeing with his own eyes; his warm sympathy with his fellow creatures; his love of justice; his shrewdness and caution; his dexterity in managing conflicting tribal interests; his resources for effecting amicable adjustments; his high aims and motives; his simplicity of character, hospitality and generosity. It is to these qualities, dominated, as they were in Sandeman, by religious feeling and a strong sense of duty, and blended together in a constitution of unusual vigour, that his success as pioneer, pacificator and ruler may, in no small measure, be attributed.

"Sandeman," writes Lord Roberts, "was the beau ideal of a frontier officer."

"His conversation," says Sir Richard Temple, "was bright, suggestive and refreshing—a better travelling companion I never met."

"Sandeman," says Sir Donald Stewart, "was always ready to help, and rarely said anything was impossible, and when he said a thing could be done it always was done."

"Sandeman," says Sir Alfred Lyall, "was an impersonation of the characteristics of the men of action who won India for England."

"Sandeman," says Sir George White, the present Commander in Chief in India, "was a combination of gentleness and strength."

"Sandeman," said Sir Charles Dilke, who visited Balúchistán in 1889, "is regarded as justice incarnate."

"The presence of Sir Robert Sandeman," says a Persian poet, "relieved the anxieties of Baluchistan and turned autumn into spring."

"The greatest pleasure he had," says Lady Sandeman, "was in spending the money he had earned for the good or pleasure of others; to give, to him, was a delight." His religious views were deep and earnest, but without a trace of bigotry. Like Gordon, he was particularly fond of children, a devoted friend of the British soldier, English or Indian, and, after a few months' residence at a small port in Ireland, became the idol of the fishermen.

But in spite of his general benevolence, there was one thing of which he was a determined enemy, and that is red tape. However patriotic his aims, his procedure was not always a model of regularity, and he was consequently no favourite among subordinate officials at headquarters. But statesmen weighed his defects against his sterling merits and found the former to be as dust in the balance. The very fact, that, in spite of irregularities of procedure which would have wrecked the career of many a smaller man, he was retained in office, is of itself a significant proof of the value of his services. Let me add that, during a political service of nearly 30 years, he never, so far as I am aware, made a serious mistake or brought the Government into difficulty.

Such is a very brief, but so far as it goes, a faithful sketch of some of the traits of the remarkable character, which, for so many years, was the ruling spirit of the western frontier of India, a character with human faults and imperfections, but a marked predominance of all that is brave and good and lovable. To understand it thoroughly, one must have known him as the writer knew him; but some of its leading features, his warm sympathy with his fellow-creatures, dauntless energy, high aims, and everlasting cheeriness, will have been gathered, it is hoped, from the paper which has been read. His main endeavour, so he tells us in one of his last letters, was to "deal with the hearts and minds of the people, and not only with their fears"; he succeeded and he had his reward, for, in spite of years of toil, passed for the most part on a remote frontier, in spite of sorrows and disappointments, and all the work and worry of a singularly responsible position, he had, he says, a happy life, happy from the consciousness of having spent it in benefiting others, and in the promotion of a policy of peace.

Sir Robert Sandeman is dead, but his example and policy remain. The principles he advocated have been applied with great success in Kurram, in the Khaibar Pass, on the slopes of the Black Mountain, and in Hunza and Nagar, whose levies have just taken part as faithful followers in Colonel Kelly's splendid march across the snowy passes to Chitral.

But perhaps the most important testimony to the success and soundness of Sir Robert's policy is to be found in Lord Lansdowne's farewell speech delivered at Calcutta in January, 1894. After describing Sandeman's policy of "spheres of influence"- "This policy," said His Excellency, "is, I believe, the right one under the political circumstances which now confront us and it is less likely in the long run to involve us in trouble and expense than the old policy of punitive expeditions followed by a precipitate and complete withdrawal, a policy which Lord Lytton aptly described, in a speech delivered in Council, as one of alternate vengeance and inaction."

And in the following passage from Lord Elgin's speech at Quetta on the 6th of November last, "Nearly five years have passed since my predecessors met you here. By the inexorable laws of human existence such a period must bring in its train changes, whether for good or evil. To one of those changes which I know everyone here deplores, I should like to allude at the outset. Lord Lansdowne described the officer standing by his side as one who had the confidence of the Government of India, and whose name would for all time be honourably connected with their portion to the Indian Empire. I had not the pleasure of the acquaintance of Sir Robert Sandeman, but there are some cases in which the record is plain beyond dispute. There can be no doubt that by Sir Robert Sandeman's premature death, the Government of India lost an officer to whose indomitable courage and perseverance they owe much, and the people of Balúchistán lost a friend whose knowledge of them and trust in them they recognised by returning to him the largest measure of confidence. I have been glad to observe in Quetta many signs that his name is fresh in your remembrance. . . . We can in my opinion, find no better means of honouring him than by carrying on what he began."

Yes, carry on what he began. The close-border system, with all its merits, and it had much to recommend it, is past and gone; military necessities and political obligations require advanced posts; advanced posts require free access, and free access necessitates control over intervening tribal territory. A policy of conciliatory intervention is thus forced upon us, and Sandeman has taught us how to carry it into effect with a minimum of friction and expense, amongst Patán as well as Balúch races. His idea was to gradually extend friendly British control over all the frontier tribes, not subject to the Amír of Kábul; and I cannot better conclude this brief survey of Sandeman's life and work than by quoting the following passage from his latest official Memorandum on the subject—a Memorandum dated September, 1890:

"The policy which I advocate has given as Balúchistán, the position at Quetta and on the Khojak, in Zhob and on the line of the Gúmal. It is this policy which has gone so far to carry the tribes of this country with us, by creating a community of interests, and showing them that their cause is one with our own. It is this which has enabled us to carry public opinion with us throughout Balúchistán with the power and influence

necessary to utilize the resources of the country in time of war. It is this which has established in this Agency local self-government in a far higher degree than it exists in India. It is no mere theory. It has been tried in the balance and has not been found wanting. It is born of the calm confidence which arises from experience and leads to success. The Waziri, Mando Khel, Sherani and other tribes do not in any great degree differ from the tribes of this Agency, and some do not differ at all. Where difference of race has existed, we have found human nature the same and amenable to like influences. We have made a commencement with the Waziris, and having placed our hands to the plough, let us avoid nerveless vacillation and maintain a firm continuity of action. Let us not think of turning back, but let us carry to a successful conclusion what has been begun. If we knit the frontier tribes into our Imperial system in time of peace and make their interests ours, they will certainly not oppose us in time of war, and as long as we are able and ready to hold our own, we can certainly depend upon their being on our side."

How far Sandeman would have approved our recent action in Waziristan and Chitrál it is, of course, impossible to say; but one thing I would venture strenuously to urge, *viz.*, that the fact that our recent action on the frontier has led us into difficulties need not and should not discredit the general policy he advocated and carried out with unvarying success in Patánistan as well as Balúchistan; at any rate, we should not allow the difficulties of the moment to drive us back into a policy of isolation.

Note 1, p. 133.—The word *Patán* is a puzzle to philologists. In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, the late Dr. Bellew stated that it is a corruption of *Pukhtúnah* meaning "hill men" (from *pukht*, a hill, akin to the Persian *pushtah*, and traceable in the *pactyica* of Herodotus). The word *Afghán* has, he says, the same meaning, being a corruption of the Armenian *Aghuán*, a term applied to the *Albanian* mountaineers, who had settlements in Western Afghánistán.

Note 2, p. 133.—*Jirgah* is a Persian word signifying "wide," and is probably the same in origin as the Latin *Circus*, and the Greek κίκλος. The Homeric description of tribal chiefs sitting in a "sacred circle" describes an every-day occurrence in Afghanistán.

Note 3, p. 140.—The designation "British Balúchistan" is inappropriate, because the inhabitants of the districts are almost entirely Patán; and it is unfortunate, because it leads the public to suppose that Sandeman had only to deal with Balúch tribes. Whereas, in point of fact, almost all the territory directly administered by him had a Patán population.

For opinions in support, or in further elucidation, of the subject-matter of the above important paper, see the communications in our "Correspondence" columns, that we have received from General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I.; General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B.; and Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I.—ED.

TRANSCASPIA AND KHURASAN.

By Capt. Geo. V. Tarnovski.

Licet audire et alteram partem.

The Russian, who happens to be *au courant* with Asian matters and who studies British opinion on them, cannot fail to note the fact that it is distinctly and avowedly hostile to Russia in Asia. This hostility is but the natural and logical sequel of the erroneous notion, prevalent throughout Greater Britain, that Russia wants British India, and that, therefore, Russia is England's bitterest foe and not her ally in Asia, which Russia naturally is. This hostility must be held responsible for the misrepresentations and misstatements of which Russia and Russia in Asia have so often been made the objects by the British Press. Most of these misrepresentations and misstatements have but seldom elicited rejoinders from the Russian Press, as their inconsistency generally was too obvious for the Russian reader to need refutation; but even when such rejoinders were forthcoming, the bulk of the British Press carefully abstained from reproducing them. It was still more difficult, not to say impossible, for Russian opinion on these subjects to obtain utterance in the British Press: this I know from personal experience.

Now, that British public opinion seems to have recognised the desirability of a better mutual understanding between Russia and Great Britain, there appears some chance of finding willing and attentive readers among the English for Russian versions of doubtful or debatable questions in Asian matters, which formerly was not the case. I, who have the honour of being a member of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, a body which pursues the object of promoting friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia, and who hold the opinion that such relations are necessary for the interests of both these Powers in Asia, consider it my duty towards my country and towards the body named above, to expose for the judgment of the English reader a case where both misrepresentation and misstatement are found in an official document, intended to convey information to the members of both Houses of the British Parliament, and to English readers at large.

I.

The "forward policy" of the Anglo-Indian Government in its practical manifestations must appear to anyone residing in Central Asia, as consisting in the expansion of British India's continental boundary, and in the establishment of Great Britain's political and commercial sway in countries adjacent to Russia's southern boundary in Central Asia.

The first of these objects involves an enormous expenditure, both for trans-frontier expeditions (like the recent ones in Waziristan and Chitrál), and for the creation and maintenance of new bodies of troops, forts, cantonments, armament, "military" railways and metalled roads, transport costs, etc., as required by the "Defence of India" scheme. This means the growth of military expenditure in India from 1,813 lakhs of Rupees in

1883-1884, which years may be held to have inaugurated the "forward policy" era, to 2,393½ lakhs of Rupees in 1893-1894, as has been demonstrated by Sir Auckland Colvin.* The 330,000,000 Rupees, which have been consumed, in the aggregate, by the growth of military expenditure in India during the last decade, have been disbursed, down to the last *anna*, by the Indian taxpayer, which may account for the probable popularity of the "forward policy" in England, which does not pay the bill. The Indian taxpayer has nothing to say in all this, nor is he asked his opinion on the subject:

"His not to reason why,
His not to make reply . . ."

The second of these objects—the establishment of Great Britain's political and commercial sway in countries adjacent to Russia's southern boundary in Central Asia—is of considerable immediate interest to the British taxpayer, who defrays part of the expenditure for the Consulates, Political agencies, etc., in Asia. This is why the British taxpayer's representatives, both Houses of the British Parliament, are annually presented with "Diplomatic and Consular Reports." These, to be of any immediate value, and, what is of more practical moment for their authors, to ensure their being read at all, must each be a perfect *multum in parvo*.

No. 1429 of the "Diplomatic and Consular Reports on trade and finance"—part of the "Foreign Office Annual Series" for 1894—contains the "Report for the years 1893-1894 on the trade of the District of the Consulate-General of Meshed," in which is the following, under the heading "Exports to Russia" (pp. 3–5):

"The exports from Khurasan to Russia were something under those of the previous year. The amount of wool and cotton exported was about the same. *An enormous quantity of grain was also exported, but, as the traffic is illicit, no figures are procurable.*† This wholesale export of wheat is having a very disastrous effect on the province, and it is no exaggeration to say, that in consequence of it, three parts of the population of Khurasan suffer very great privations.

"It may not be out of place to explain how this comes to pass. In the first place, as mentioned in the last report, Persia is a very poor country, and even after an abundant harvest has only sufficient corn to feed her population at a cheap rate. All payments to the peasantry are made in kind, and many of them rarely touch money. The proprietor of the village gives the seed and water, and the labourers cultivate the land, receiving as their wages half the crops. If the proprietor finds the bullocks for ploughing and threshing he takes a greater share. He also pays the taxes.

"Water is the main factor, and it has an equivalent value to gold in Persia. Hundreds of thousands of acres of arable land are left uncultivated simply because there is no water. A village is not of course necessarily held by one proprietor. There may be a dozen, or twenty; but the conditions are the same. Each has his share of water, with its adjacent land. The ordinary labouring man eats half a *man*‡ of bread per diem, or one *kharwar* 80 *mans* per annum. If he has a wife and two children they eat another *kharwar* 20 *mans*, or in all an average family consumes 3 *kharwars* of wheat per annum.

Now the most corn a fortunate peasant will earn by the above arrangements after a good harvest is from 3 to 4 kharwars, and after a moderate harvest from 2 to 3 kharwars.

* *Vide* "*The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure*," by Sir Auckland Colvin, in the *Nineteenth Century*, October 1894, p. 655.

† Throughout this quotation the italics are mine.—G. T.

‡ 1 Kharwar = 100 mans; and 1 man = 6½ lbs.—G. T.

This is the outside limit for the mass of peasantry when all goes favourably. *In some districts, such as Sabzavar, enormous quantities of cotton are grown at the expense of wheat* and this is in itself causing much mischief. But in the ordinary district only enough cotton is grown for the wants of the people. This the goodwife spins and weaves and fashions into the family clothing. Rape and sesame are also grown for their oil, and pulse and coarse beans and a little tobacco, and more or less fruit. If the peasant gets his 4 *kharwars* of corn he generally does not get more of the others than suffices for his wants, but whatever surplus he has he barters for a few head of sheep or sells in order to procure the very few, for him, remaining necessaries of existence. The sheep he hands over to a shepherd who keeps life in them as best as he can in the winter (one quarter of the sheep of Khurasan succumbed to the cold last season) and takes them off in the summer to the hills where he can graze them and also find a little water. The shepherd receives no pay but gets one out of every ten of the lambs and is allowed to take the milk one day in seven. From this sheep's milk are made butter and cheese and curds and karoot or dried curds. Very little cow's milk is used in Khurasan. The wool of the sheep (about 3 lbs. from the two shearings) goes to the owner. This is the sum total of the income of a fortunate peasant in Khurasan, and from it the governor of the district and his myrmidons, the *Kadkhuda* of the village, and others exact a goodly share.

"Such casualties as sickness, births, marriages, and deaths all carry their expenses with them, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for the water supply itself to fail, through the choking up of the underground canal. In that case there are no crops at all.

"Thus these simple people eke out an existence which at the best is far from an enviable one, for they inhabit mere mud hovels without windows and with a hole in the centre of the roof to let out the smoke and the filthy state of their villages is indescribable. In winter too they suffer much from the severity of the weather and the want of fuel and warm clothing. Therefore, at the end of the winter they generally find their stock either exhausted or running very low and the great Festival of Nauroz at hand. *Formerly, the peasant knew that if his stock failed there was no hope of replenishing it. He would have to go without his Nauroz festivities. This made him careful. But now things are altered. He knows that a week or two before the festival the Russian speculators will commence to appear on the scene and to offer the proprietor advances of money to sow cotton for them, the seed of which they provide, or to buy up in advance the best part of his crop of wheat.* The ignorant peasant is led to agree to bartering a part of his share too, and when the harvest is over he finds he has not enough corn to carry him through the winter. *If the proprietors and peasants resist the temptation till the time of the actual harvest, the result is the same. The wheat goes at half price, the peasant finds after a few weeks that he has not enough to carry him through the winter; and worst of all there is no corn at all left for towns like Meshed with 70,000 inhabitants. Last year, for instance, the crop was a fair one, but so much wheat was exported that the price of bread in Meshed was four times as high as after an abundant harvest when there was no exportation;* so that the wages of a well paid servant in the employ of a European, if he had a wife and two or three children, did not suffice for the bread alone of the family. *This led to two or three riots in Meshed which were nearly followed by very serious consequences.* The Shah is constantly issuing the most stringent orders prohibiting the export of wheat, but nobody in the north pays any attention to them. Strings of 50 or 100 camels laden with corn may be seen crossing the frontier daily after the harvest by the main road. *Thus in an ordinary year the export of corn means semi starvation to three parts of the population.*

"*The official returns of Transcaspia show that 2,113,079 poods* of corn were carried by the railway and exported from Transcaspia in 1891. It would be interesting to know how much of this came from Persia and what quantity also the troops consumed.*

"The speculator finds that he can purchase wheat at such a cheap rate in Persia, that he is able to export it to Europe and sell it cheaper there than that which comes from Russia proper itself, the great wheat supplying centre of Europe. The speculator is in no way to blame. He comes with ready money and gets the most he can for it."

Now, this is an admirably clear and concise sketch of the economical position of Khurasan at present. It is, at the best, far from being an

* 63 poods = 1 ton; 1 pood = 36 lbs.—G. T.

enviable one; and Russia's neighbourhood in Transcaspia, with her Transcaspian railway which carries to Europe ever so much cheap wheat from Khurasan, is largely instrumental in bringing Khurasan to this climax. The *Russian speculator* tempts with ready money the guileless Khurasani to sell his wheat for half price, or, still worse, to sow cotton instead, and the result is "semi-starvation to three parts of the population." That is the long and short of it. The "official returns of Transcaspia" (indirectly, it must be admitted) settle this beyond a doubt. Such must needs be the impression of every reader, who has neither the leisure nor the possibility to study this Report more in detail.

II.

But true as the general picture of the economical *status* of Khurasan is, the implications as to the *rôle* of the "Russian" speculator in the inner economy of Khurasan can hardly pass unchallenged. If this has not been done till now, it is probably because the few Russian readers of the Consular Report under consideration could not afford, or, perhaps, thought it not worth while, for the reasons already given, to take up the cudgels. I received this Report only in December, 1894, and inserted a review of it in the freshly started Russian periodical "*Zakaspiiskoie Obozrenie*" (Transcaspian Review),* where this review appeared in Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 12 and 13.

To begin with, the denomination "Russian" in reference to the speculator, who buys up corn and cotton in Khurasan for export is misapplied. The British Consulate General in Meshed cannot but be aware that there are hardly any, if any, Russians proper among these speculators, and that they are Armenians, Jews, Caucasians, Tartars, and *mostly* Persians, and *Persian subjects* to boot. Hence there is hardly a reason to represent them, one and all, as "*Russian speculators*," though *Russian subjects* some of them are. The Russian official returns on Central Asia might, with at least equally good reasons, style the Hindu usurers in Central Asia, most of whom hail from Shikarpur and are, therefore, British subjects—"*English usurers*." Yet this is not done, simply because the Russian officials, who draw up these returns would very rightly consider this a misrepresentation. Equally, such is the denomination "Russian," as applied to the corn and cotton speculator in Khurasan. The admission, that this speculator is in no way to blame, as he tries to get the most he can for his ready money, does not in the least remove the impression given by the preceding record of his doings.

The position of the Khurasani labourer, as this Report very truly states, is a precarious one. It is thus not only with the Khurasani labourer, but with the Persian labourer in general, who has, as a rule, no land of his own. The skill of the Persian official to skin him and to fatten on the results of this operation, is simply marvellous; but even more marvellous is the ability of the Persian "*raya*" (subject) to grow a new skin, almost

* The first number of this periodical was issued on the 12/24 January 1895, the anniversary of the fall of the Turkoman Fort Geuk-Tapa, which gave over Turkomania, the present "Transcaspian province," to Russia.

immediately afterwards. In this most European travellers are unanimous. Griboyedoff,* of Turkomanchaï treaty fame, drew, in his official reports, a very similar picture of the state of things in Persia; and though his reports date from the early twenties of this century, yet the Persian labourer does not seem to be much better off in our days. Centuries of such a *régime* must have worked out very perfect modes of attack and defence.

The appearance, under these conditions, of the speculator, who freely offers ready cash, a commodity nearly unknown to the Persian labourer,—being quite a new factor in the economical life of the country, very possibly has led to a kind of economical crisis through indebtedness of the labouring class. But it is not the Khurasani labourer alone who stands in this predicament, nor is this crisis likely to be one of long duration, as the experience of Bokhara and Turkestan has demonstrated. When, with the construction of the Transcaspian railway, in 1886-1888 came the cotton "boom" (to use an Americanism) in Central Asia, the peculiar kind of speculation described in this Consular Report was one of the characteristic features of the new-born cotton-growing industry. It had its good side, in so far that the Uzbaks and Tajiks took to growing American cotton and rapidly mastered the initial difficulties presented by the introduction of this plant on the yellow loam of Central Asia. Yet, this rapid growth of cotton-culture proved a not altogether unmixed blessing, as it caused a diminution in wheat growing and brought about financial difficulties to the labouring class, so that the Russian Government in Turkestan had to intervene. However, it turned out in time that the labouring classes had found remedies for this temporary economical crisis: the cotton-growing industry came down to more normal dimensions, and the speculator had to stop advancing ready cash on future cotton crops; for the Uzbak and Tajik never thought of keeping their obligations as soon as they saw that the speculator was discountenanced by the Russian officials. At present the speculations in cotton in Turkestan, Khiva, and Bokhara are practically limited to buying raw cotton after it has been gathered. All this has come to pass within the last three or four years.

Khurasan is undergoing the same economical evolution. The speculators "try it on" with the Khurasani labourer; but it stands to reason that the Khurasani, who is by no means the inferior of the Uzbak and Tajik in sharpness and cunning, will very soon grasp the situation, and then the speculators who rashly advance ready money will have a lively time of it. This will come to pass in Persia, owing to her system of effete officialdom, even sooner than in Russian Turkestan.

There is yet another side to this question. The scarcity of the water-supply in Khurasan makes the introduction of new cultivations impossible save at the cost of previously existing ones. Now, as cotton-growing, even in the present critical circumstances, is many times more paying than corn-

* One of the most highly-gifted Russian dramatic satirical authors and Russian ambassadors in Persia, who, in Teheran in 1828, met with an untimely death during a riot, instigated by the Wazeer Ullah-Yar-Khan, who bore a deep grudge to Griboyedoff because of the Turkomanchaï treaty.

growing, and as there is a natural tendency in Russia to create in Central Asia a cotton-producing area for ensuring the supply of raw cotton for Russian spindles and looms, a settlement between demand and supply will take place in time: Central Asia is destined to become a cotton-producing country and a market for cheap Russian corn. Schemes to this effect are already under consideration in the newly-created Russian Ministry for Agriculture. It is but natural that Khurasan,—a country eminently suited for cotton-growing, and which has come under Russia's economical sway with the construction of the Transcaspian railway,—will have to follow suit, "forward policy" or no "forward policy."

The Report I am dealing with states also that "enormous" quantities of cotton are grown in some districts of Khurasan, especially in Sabzawar, and that this causes much mischief. Now, except that kept for domestic use, every *man* of Khurasan cotton is exported to Transcaspia, for none as yet finds its way to the Persian Gulf; and as the cotton grown in Transcaspia itself is accurately registered, we can deduce, from the railway and customs Official Returns, the precise quantity of Khurasan cotton exported to the Russian dominions. These Official Returns serve to check one another; for the one gives the *minimum quantity on which customs duties have been paid* (*the minimum of imports*), and the other the *exact quantity on which railway dues have been paid* (the exact export) for a given period. The only station of the Transcaspian railway which receives and exports Persian cotton in quantities worth speaking of is Ashkabad, and this is chiefly cotton grown in the Sabzawar district.* Kaahka and Kaushud are the two other stations, to which some Persian cotton finds its way, but the quantity is insignificant, being 5-10 tons *per annum*. The official returns on the export of Khurasani cotton from Ashkabad, for the years 1890-1893, give: in 1890, Poods 99,535,—in 1891, Poods 99,056,—in 1892, Poods 139,662,—and in 1893, Poods 137,840.

The Consular Report under consideration gives the value of the export of cotton from Khurasan to the Russian dominion in 1893-1894 at £33,236 which very nearly corresponds with the figures given by the Russian railway and custom official returns. The export of cotton from Khurasan to Russia does not, therefore, exceed 2,200 tons per annum, and to style this quantity "*enormous*" is distinctly an exaggeration.†

The Consular Report gives 2,113,059 poods as the quantity of *corn* carried and exported by the Transcaspian Railway in 1891; but this figure is certainly wrong: it differs, at least, from the official returns of the transport Statistics of the Transcaspian railway for 1891 (published by the Russian War Office in 1893). These give the quantity of corn carried by the Railway and exported in 1891 at 1,160,202 poods,—including (besides wheat) pulse, peas, barley and maize;‡ while the carriage and export of *wheat* only

* I was officially entrusted with the compilation of statistical information on Transcaspia beginning with the year 1891, and thus I have had ample occasion to study all the official returns on this province. The volumes for 1891 and 1892 were noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1894.

† What is the proportion to the total output?—ED.

‡ Webster includes these under the word "corn."—ED.

amounted to 1,014,888 poods. The export of wheat* *via* Uzun-Ada was 831,203 poods, of which only 615,424 poods were exported from stations in Transcaspia proper. The figure 2,068,867 poods (not 2,113,059) is the total of the entire "Category I.," which includes (*besides corn*) *meal, flour, groats, oil giving and other seeds, corn waste and refuse, oil "cake," etc.* All these can scarcely be called *corn.*

Moreover, the mention of the returns for 1891 is, at the best, specious reasoning: it is well known that 1891 and 1892 were for inner Russia years of famine, when corn was imported from anywhere. Turkestan, Bokhara, Khiva, and Transcaspia contributed their quota, and it amounted, as shown above, to 831,203 poods of wheat exported *via* Uzun-Ada to Baku, Batoum and Astrakhan. Yet, the returns for 1890-1893 on the export of wheat *via* Uzun-Ada from Transcaspia, which include the export from Khurasan, show that 1891 and 1892 are abnormal. The export of wheat *via* Uzun-Ada from Transcaspia, in 1890 was poods 229,000; in 1891, poods 615,424; in 1892, poods 658,072; and in 1893 133,200.

Of these exports the lion's share falls to the lot of the Merv and Tejend oases, that annually have a large surplus of wheat for sale. Their exports were—in 1890 poods 182,489; in 1891 poods 313,862; in 1892 poods 105,676; and in 1893 poods 44,515.

The rest includes local produce besides exports from Khurasan. The exports from Khurasan proper are limited to the stations Dushakh, Arman-Sahad, Kaahka, Kaushud and Artyk, in which the Khurasani wheat predominates; if we add the total exports from Ashkabad, which, in fact, include not more than 50 % Khurasani wheat, we will have the *maximum possible exports* of Khurasani wheat, *via* Uzun-Ada. The aggregate returns for these stations in 1891 and 1892, when the exports of wheat from Transcaspia to Russia reached their climax, are: in 1891, poods 154,888; and in 1892 poods 336,408.

The Russian troops in Transcaspia consume, as a very simple calculation will show, about 350,000 poods of wheat per annum; and even if all this come from Persia, the exports of wheat from Khurasan could not exceed, at the utmost, 12,000 *tons per annum*, as hardly any wheat is exported to Transcaspia proper for local consumption. Besides, since 1893 it was found better in all respects to import for the Russian troops in Transcaspia wheat from the north of the Caucasus, and to use for this purpose local corn, chiefly that grown in the Merv and Tejend oases: this explains the diminution of exportation of wheat from these in 1893. I have gone into these figures in detail in order to show the *maximum possible* quantity of wheat exported from Khurasan to the Russian dominions; and surely the adjective "*enormous*" as applied to it, can hardly be termed correct.†

As to the "corn riots" of 1894 in Meshed, it is universally well known that they were caused *not by scarcity of wheat in Meshed, but by speculation on the part of some Persian officials*, who had bought up large quantities of wheat and held it back with a view to realize larger profits, and who

* The exports of other kinds of the group *corn* are small and practically immaterial.

† See question previously put.—ED.

eventually got their deserts. The proof of this is that the riots immediately subsided, when the officials in question were compelled to send their corn supplies to the bazaar. Such corn riots are—as all who know the system of Persian officialdom are aware—a thing of common occurrence everywhere in Persia. To lay the blame of these disturbances at the door of the "Russian speculator" is hardly warranted.

From the above it may be inferred, that the Report of the British Consulate-general in Meshed on the trade of Khurasan in 1893-94 is incorrect in some particulars. It is curious to note that all these particulars concern the economical connexions of Khurasan with Russia through Transcaspia. The M.P. who peruses this report for information on these questions, and who takes all the contents of the report aforesaid to be *bona fide* deductions from established facts, runs the risk, to put it mildly, of imbibing some misleading notions, with a decided bias against Russia in Central Asia. Profitable as this may be to the interests of the makers of a "forward policy" in Khurasan, it is to be deprecated in present circumstances, when British public opinion demands sound, matter of-fact, information on the state of things in Central Asia and the adjoining countries.

TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN SIÂM AND THE SIÂMESE LAW OF ORDEALS.

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(*Continued from our last issue.*)

3. *Ordeal by Melted Lead.*

Though our text does not describe this test yet we can give it on the authority of travellers in Siâm. Joost Schouten (A.D. 1636) speaks of it as a "dipping of the hands in boiling oil," and says that he who is least scalded is adjudged right. La Loubère states that it is performed with hot oil or other boiling matter into which the parties thrust their hands; but then he quotes the following instance: "A Frenchman, from whom a Siamese had stolen some tin, was persuaded, for want of proof, to put his hand into the melted tin.* He drew it out almost consumed, while the Siamese being more cunning extricated himself, I know not how, without burning, and was sent away absolved."

The taking out of a piece of gold from hot oil, a test only alluded to by Nârada (I, 16) but described by Pitâmaha, seems to have been pretty common in India, where cow-dung was mixed with the boiling oil, to increase its heat. Molten lead must, nevertheless, have been also used.

In Burma (according to Sangermano), in criminal suits this ordeal consisted in immersing the tip of the forefinger, wrapped in a thin strip of palm-leaf, in melted tin; if both the finger and its cover remained uninjured, the suspected person was acquitted, otherwise he was condemned.

But whether molten tin or lead, or boiling oil be used, the test is practically the same, and is but a form of the fire-ordeal.

4 and 5. *Ordeal by Swimming Across or Against Stream.*

The law of 1356 simply mentions (art. 5), these two kinds of ordeals, for cases of denial of a loan or deposit on the part of the accused. The amount in dispute is staked by both, and the loser has to pay double the stakes, one sum going to the victor and the other to the government as a fine. Its use must have been rare, as it is ignored by all authors on Siâmese matters. Moura mentions it in his book on Cambodia under the name of "joute sur l'eau." It must, however, have been common to both places, as Cambodian laws and procedure are identical with the Siâmese. That it was not unknown in India would appear from the fact that "in former times, if a suspected person *waded through a stream infested by a crocodile*, or put his finger into boiling oil, melted lead, *etc.* . . . he was declared to be innocent." [F. Paolino's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 312.]

6. *The Candle Ordeal.*

This is mentioned by various authorities as being used in Burma and Cambodia: it constitutes another form of the fire-ordeal. Two waxen

* Probably molten lead, a mistake most likely caused by tin and lead being often designated by the same term (*takùa*) in Siâmese

tapers of equal size and with wicks containing an equal number of cotton threads, are lit with much ceremony and placed on suitable stands, with the recital of the usual adjurations. He whose taper keeps alight the longest wins the case. This trial with lighted candles was used also for divination, and termed in Siâmese "*sîeng-thien*." An instance occurs in the *Annals*, vol. I., pp. 38-39, in A.D. 1529, when Ph'ra Thîen Râch'â, urged by the nobility to seize the throne and expel the usurper Worawongsâdhirâj, tried this form of augury before accepting the offer. Having caused two candles to be made, equal in weight, length and number of wick-threads, he placed them before a statue of Buddha. He then pronounced a solemn vow and declaration to the effect that, by virtue of the power of the five objects of worship (the idols, the Bodhi tree, the stûpas, the relics and the tripiṭakas), and also of the sincerity of his vow, his fate might be made clear to him and his doubts dispelled;—that one candle being lit for himself and another on behalf of the usurper Worawongsâdhirâj, if he was ever to obtain the throne, the usurper's candle might go out first; but if he was not to succeed in his projects, his own might be first extinguished. He took the successful result of the trial as a good augury, overthrew the usurper, and eventually obtained the throne.

Divination and ordeal with candles are no doubt connected with the ancient worship attributed to fire as the fountain-head of life; the flame of the lighted taper symbolizing the continuance of life in the individual, as the sacred fire, anciently maintained within the domestic walls and the public temples, represented the vitality and prosperity of the family or the nation, while its going out portended calamities and ruin.

7. *Administration of the Oath.*

Though not properly an ordeal, this is by our text included among them, as a test for deciding the truthfulness of a charge or the sincerity of a witness. In Manu (VIII, 109, 110) it is applied in similar circumstances and vested with an identical meaning; and likewise in Nârada (V), who, after commencing to treat of the rules of ordeals in Sloka 107, mentions this in Slokas 108 and 109. The reason is, that the oath as understood by Oriental lawgivers, is rather an imprecation or adjuration than a solemn affirmation of truth. The latter, or vow, is in fact known in Siâmese and Pâli, by the names of *saccâdhiṭṭhâna* and *saccakiriyâ*; whilst the former, or imprecation properly speaking, is termed *sât in* and *sabot*, from the Pâli and Sanskrit *Sapana*, *Sapatha* and *Śâpa*, meaning a curse, an adjuration. It is this and not the first, that is employed in judicial procedure; and one need not be surprised to find that it consists of a series of terrible threats and imprecations, rendering it very different from the oaths sworn in our law-courts. Owing to this character of the oath, it is classed among the ordeals and entirely resembles the imprecations read on the occasion of fire and water ordeals as given further on.

In purely civil cases, however, the Siâmese law of procedure (*Section on the giving of verdicts*, art. 5th), admits of an asseveration of truth (*satyânti-satya*) being solemnly made before the "Three Jewels" of the Buddhist Triad, in any temple,—provided that both parties in the cause agree to it,

and one or more persons are witnesses to the proceeding. In such cases the verdict is given according to the confession or asseveration made, and no appeal is afterwards allowed.

With regard to the imprecation or *Sapana*, the Law of witnesses of 1350 (art. 15th) enacts that any witness who takes an oath of this description and is, within three or seven days,* overtaken with one of the eight calamities, the party for whom he is witness loses his cause if the other party is not in the same predicament. An analogous principle is laid down in Nârada [IX, 4] with regard to the sacred libation, which, as we shall see is nothing but a kind of oath: "He to whom (after having taken the sacred libation) any calamity or misfortune happens within a week [7 *days*] or a fortnight [7 × 2], is proved to be guilty."

The text of the *Sapana* taken by witnesses, *etc.*, in Siâmese Law-courts was translated quite sixty years ago by the then Capt. Low, and published in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*. His version was subsequently copied into almost every book that has since appeared on Siâm. On comparing it, however, with the original contained in the Siâmese Law of Witnesses, I found a good many omissions, besides discrepancies in entire passages,—defects which I attribute to the imperfection of the text used by Capt. Low. Hence I give a new translation—as strictly literal as possible—from the original text of the Law of Witnesses of Sunday, the 6th June A.D. 1350:—

[*Laws of Siâm*, vol. I., pp. 409, 410 and 411]:—"The judges, having summoned the witnesses, let it be proclaimed before the latter as follows:

"The three Buddhas, Kakusandha, Koṇâgamana and Kassapa,† having attained omniscience and passed in succession into Nirvâṇa, the Blessed Srî Sâkya Muni Gotama, our most excellent Teacher, having prepared the accomplishment of the *pâramitâs*‡ for four *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand *mahâ-kalpas*, fulfilled the five great donations,§ and the thirty *pâramitâs*,‖ attained Buddhahood at the foot of the great Bodhi tree and preached the Law to his four classes of disciples, that is: the monks, the nuns, the lay disciples and the female devotees. Having thus fulfilled his mission, most mercifully established his religion for [the next] five thousand years, bestowed [to the world] the Law of the Tripiṭakas in 84,000 sections, and left statues and holy shrines as objects of worship for all, both celestial and human, he, on completing the eightieth year of his age, passed to the eternal, imperishable city of Nirvaṇâ.

"Now we beg to invite Indra, Brahma, Yama, the four *Lokapâlas*, the Sun- and Moon-gods, and the tutelary deities of earth and space—who all are the custodians and upholders of the Buddhist faith, and the guardian deities of the frontiers of this kingdom and of the royal canopy of dominion¶ to come and assemble in this place, so that they may hear the

* 3 and 7 are ominous numbers.

† The three Buddhas immediately preceding Gotama.

‡ Perfections forming the requisites or constituents of Buddhahood.

§ Renunciations of the treasures most valued by men, *i.e.*, riches, wife, children, kingdom, life and limb.

‖ As each of the ten *pâramitâs* has three degrees, one higher than the other, the sum of thirty stages of progressive perfection is arrived at, which are also designated *pâramitâs*.

¶ The white *ch'atta* umbrella.

declaration sworn by those who shall be witnesses (in this cause*): "'If I have seen, let me say that I have seen; if I have heard, let me say that I have heard; if I know, let me say that I know. But if I have not seen and yet shall say I have seen; if I have not heard and yet shall say I have heard; if I shall say I know that which I do not know, let the surface of the earth, which is 240,000 *yojanas* in thickness, cease to bear any longer an individual who is so unsincere. May I become diseased, insane, dumb, afflicted with every kind of misfortune. If travelling by land and entering the jungle, may tigers devour me; may the thunderbolt rush down upon me from the sky; may blood flow out from my mouth and nostrils; and may my life come to destruction before I have time to say my last words to wife and children.

"'And may this curse (*Sapana*) overtake him who lacks truthfulness: (1) let his head be cut off more times than there are *heads* (bumps) on all the portable stoves of this world†; (2) let his hands and feet be cut off more times than there are blades of grass; (3) let his flesh be cut out in slices [till a heap is formed] bigger than the earth's crust which is 240,000 *yojanas* in thickness; (4) let his eye balls be put out more times than there are stars in the whole firmament; (5) and when he leaves the human form of birth, let him be reborn as a *Preta*, at the foot of mount Trikûṭa,‡ with a body three *gizutas*§ in height, and a mouth as small as the eye of a needle, who with his nails shall tear his own skin and suck the blood thereof as food, for a whole *Buddhantara* period.‖ (6) When leaving the Preta-birth, let him be precipitated into the major hell (*mahânaraka*), and therein go through innumerable forms of suffering for another full *Buddhantara* period.

"'He who had not known yet declared he knew, let the custodians of Hell (*Niriyapâlas*) lay his body on a red-hot iron plate, pierce his head and feet with red-hot iron spikes and then, with an axe, split his breast open and chop off his hands and feet.

"'He who had not heard yet stated he heard, let the Hell-gaolers lay him on a red hot iron plate, and transfix his head, from ear to ear, with great spears, from right to left and from left to right.

"'He who had not seen yet declared he saw, let the infernal executioners lay him on a red hot iron plate, and then with a hook seize and pluck out his left and right eye-balls

"'And let him who lacks sincerity, from terror of all these tortures, flee and be precipitated into the pit of the *Giddhanaraka* hell which is filled with liquid filth and excrements in a state of violent ebullition; and when his body has been therein dissolved, let him be reborn in a life of suffering

* What follows is the oath proper, which every witness is made to repeat, word for word, after the text read by the Recorder.

† The portable stoves used in Siâm are made of earthenware in the shape of a pan designed as a fire-place, and surmounted by three round bumps or heads, disposed so as to form a triangle, and intended as a support for the rice-pot.

‡ The three-peaked mountain which, as a triple pincer, holds the base of Meru.

§ A measure of length = ¼ *yojana*; *i.e.*, about two miles, as the *yojana* is generally held to be about 8 miles.

‖ Interval between the death of one Buddha and the appearance of another.

and misery. On leaving hell, let him be reborn as a leprous dog, a worm or a milliped. If given a human body, let him be conceived a cripple, a creature helpless from the womb, born blind, deaf, dwarf, insane, dumb, and afflicted with other misfortunes. Let all these miseries befall the false witness.

"'But the witness who tells nothing but the truth, in whatever state of existence he may be reborn hereafter,—if as a male, may he be endowed with a fine physique and complexion, and with genius and learning;—if as a female, may she be gifted with all attractions of gentleness and beauty. And may the fruit of the merit acquired for having been truthful, cause him in the future to become an upholder of the Law, a light and authority on the Tripiṭakas, so that he shall be given precedence as the highest exponent of the Law, over all disciples of the future Buddha Maitreya, and then be able to shape his course towards and reach the eternal, imperishable city of Nirvâṇa!'"*

8 *Ordeals by the Sacred Libation, by Poison, and by Chewing Grains of Rice.*

I place these three under one heading, as they are practically the outcome of one and the same belief, and identical in their administration. They all proceed from the superstition so common in the East Indies, that any liquid or food consecrated by proper incantations produces evils and even death to a wicked, sinful individual, whilst to the virtuous it is perfectly harmless, and that *vice versâ*, the most violent poison which would instantly kill a man burdened with sins can, when properly consecrated, be taken with perfect impunity by one pure and guiltless. On this belief all oaths anciently sworn in India were based. They consisted in the drinking of water or taking of food over which adjurations had been pronounced imprecating all kinds of evils upon the perjurer. Such is also the oath of allegiance still sworn, twice a year, by Siâmese officials to their sovereign. Water is prepared on such occasions in which weapons of various kinds are immersed, and over which are pronounced imprecations invoking death by similar weapons on whoever betrays his allegiance to the sovereign. The text of the oath being then proclaimed, each official drinks a cup of the charmed liquid in confirmation thereof. Such is the efficacy attributed to this water that it is considered dangerous for anyone who has not purified himself by ablutions and fasting to partake of it; and it is not given to drink to the wives of the officials who may at the time

* Similar rewards for witnesses speaking the truth and punishments for giving false evidence are promised by Manu, VIII, 81 and 94; but the text of Nârada agrees still more closely with the tenor of the Siâmese oath, as the following paragraphs show:

V, 80. "By neglecting Truth thou wilt precipitate thyself into a most dreadful hellish abode; And in the hells the powerful and cruel ministers of Yama

81. "Will cut off thy tongue, and constantly strike thee with swords and pierce thee with spears, while thou art wailing incessantly.

82. "When thou art standing, they will fell thee to the ground and throw thee into the fire. Having thus borne with pain the tortures of hell for a long time,

83. "Thou shalt, in this world, enter the vile bodies of crows, vultures, and the like."—

Ib., 77. "He whose mind is persistent in truth, obtains a divine state even in this world."

be *enceinte* (hence considered impure), from fear of its producing miscarriage and other evils.

The ordeal by the sacred libation had, in India, the same object as the drinking of the water of allegiance in Siâm; but instead of weapons, an image of the deity was immersed in it. Like the Siâmese water of allegiance, the Hindû libation had to be drunk "in the morning by a person fasting, after having bathed," *etc.* [Nârada, IX, 1.] One to whom any calamity or misfortune happened within a week or a fortnight from the day he took it, was held guilty.

In the same chapter, Nârada mentions the ordeal of "taking grains of rice into the mouth," evidently because he considered it identical with that of the sacred libation. I have already noted that this form of ordeal was not sanctioned by law in Siâm, although practised both in public and private. It obtained widely, and still does, in nearly all neighbouring countries where it was and is performed with very little variation in method.

In Burma I heard of a form of this ordeal which has not, to my knowledge been yet noticed in any book on that country. It consists in causing the competitors to parch paddy, each in a separate pan: he, the husks of whose paddy while undergoing the roasting process do not burst open, is declared the loser.

In Siâm, according to Joost Schouten, handfuls of rice consecrated by magical rites were given to the parties with much ceremony by the priests. He who could swallow his portion without returning or rejecting it, won his case; and thus a strong stomach was made to imply an honest man. La Loubère describes these "handfuls" (which I think were only the common *pindas* or rice-balls prepared for oblations), as "pills prepared by the talapoins and accompanied with imprecations." I am informed that such morsels contained an emetic, and sometimes powdered human bones. They obtained, until quite recently, in local law-courts and in private ordeals.

It may interest the reader here to call attention to a parallel custom mentioned by Colborne Baber, in his remarkable "*Journal of exploration in Western Ssu-Ch'uan*," p. 70, as practised by the Lolos: "An article of value having been stolen and the thief remaining undiscovered, the people of the place are assembled by the medicine-men, and a handful of raw rice is served out to every one. A solemn period of mastication follows, after which the resultant is spat out, and a stain of blood on the chewed mouthful infallibly betrays the culprit. It is affirmed that the gums of the guilty bleed, and that a confession always ensues."

It is rather singular that a form of ordeal similar to the Siâmese obtained also in England down to the middle of the xiiith century, when it was abolished. The morsel consisted of bread and cheese, termed "corsned" and also "ned-bread." The proceedings were identical with those of Siâm. A piece of bread, consecrated by exorcisms, was given to a suspected person as a trial of his innocence. If guilty, it was supposed that the bread would, in accordance with the prayer of the exorcism, produce convulsions and paleness, and find no passage. If the person were innocent, it would cause no harm.

We deem it unnecessary to treat here of the ordeal by poison, as it is but a form of the above; and though actual poison was perhaps never in use in Siâm, the emetics and other drugs mixed with the rice-balls administered in this country may be considered of a similar nature.

9. *The Tree Ordeal.*

This may be properly designated "the ordeal by climbing," and ranks with other physical contests, such as swimming, diving, *etc.* Though actually unknown in Siâm, it is practised by the Karens on its borders. Col. McMahon thus describes it. "A *Sterculia* tree is stripped of its bark, and the accused has to prove his innocence by climbing the slippery stem." It is a speciality of the Bwé Karens, but seldom used. The *Sterculia* tree, well known to the Siâmese under the name of *tòn Samrong*, is admirably suited for this purpose, for the slipperiness of its stem, when stripped of the bark, carries the palm over every other "monarch of vegetation." It might well be recommended for the climbing contests used at festivals in some parts of Europe, instead of the usual pole smeared with grease.

10. *Snake and Tiger Ordeals.*

A cocoanut-shell or a small basket in which a venomous snake, generally a Cobra, had been deposited with a ring or a piece of money, seems, in byegone times, to have been in India, a favourite mode of ordeal: the accused, being first blindfolded, had to take out the ring or coin, and if he did this unharmed he was declared innocent. This dangerous trial does not, however, seem to have taken any root in Siâm and the adjacent lands. A not less dangerous test is mentioned by La Loubère, but I am far from admitting its occurrence in Siâm, and rather think that this observer, however careful in his statements, has, in this instance, either fallen into a gross mistake or been misinformed. He says that the King of Siâm "sometimes delivers up the parties in a cause to tigers; and he whom the tigers spare for a certain time, is adjudged innocent. But if the tigers devour them both, they are both esteemed guilty." I repeat, there is not, to my knowledge, any evidence of the existence of such a barbarous custom in any other writing, European or Siâmese; and therefore La Loubère's statement must, until further testimony is forthcoming, be taken *cum grano salis*.

11. *Private Ordeals.*

Various kinds of private ordeals are used in Siâm, as in Burma and India, by private persons to ascertain a fact that interests them, or to discover the thief when some article of value is found missing. Among these tests I may quote that by means of the *Ph'ak-Bung* (*Ipomœa reptans*). When some theft has taken place in a household and the servants are suspected, a *Mô-dû* or sorcerer is called in, who, having assembled the suspected persons, gives to each a piece of the stem of the *Ph'ak-bung* which he has cut into equal lengths. He then warns them that the cut portions of the stem of this plant have the property of growing a certain specified length when in the possession of a thief, and recommending each to keep his piece with care until his return. He then withdraws. The morrow he

comes again, and, having collected the pieces distributed the previous day, he carefully compares their length. It often happens that he finds one shorter than the rest: it is that of the thief who, in fear of his portion really growing longer and thus furnishing the means of detection has thought it a cunning trick to cut a piece off as a precautionary measure,—unaware that he would by this act commit himself. Of course, the test does not always succeed; but when it does, it reflects great credit on the sorcerer who by such simple artifices often gains a good reputation for magical skill.

A similar stratagem is resorted to in analogous cases by the *Sgan Karens*, and is thus described in McMahon's book: "A Burman having been robbed in one of their villages, the chief decided that every householder should fetch as much bran as he could carry in his two hands together and throw it on a common heap, the object being to give the thief an opportunity of restoring his ill-gotten gains, by appealing either to his sense of shame or to his fears, without having to confess his guilt. The experiment came to nothing in this case, although it is said to be often successful."

Having thus briefly sketched the kind of ordeals formerly used in Siâm and compared them with those of the neighbouring countries, I now add a translation of the Siâmese law on ordeals often mentioned in the preceding pages. The language in which this law is written, besides being naturally antiquated, belongs to the class of Northern-Thai, *i.e.*, the idiom of the *Chieng-Rai* (Kiang-Hai) dynasty under which the law was promulgated. As it is interspersed with Lâo words and contains technical terms which have long become obsolete and find nowadays very few interpreters, it is rather difficult of translation in several points. I trust, however, to have overcome most of the stumbling-blocks, and to have succeeded in reproducing very literally the meaning of the original.

II.

The Law of Ordeal.

(*Lakshaṇa Visuddhi.*)*

Translation from the printed edition of *the Laws of Siâm*, vol. II., pp. 79-90.

In the year of the Goat (*aja saṁvatsara*), and 1899th of the Buddhist Era, bright-half of Phâlguṇa, third *tithi* [lunar day], Thursday (*Guruvâra*),† King Râmâthibodî, *etc.*‡ reigning in Ayudhia,§ having come out [of his private apartments] to give audience [to the officials of the State] in the throne hall *Maṅgalâbhisheka*, decreed as follows:

In the event of our subjects having mutual disputes which cannot be otherwise defined than by having recourse to the test of the Ordeal, let this be performed according to the rules prescribed in the present decree.

* Literally, methods or tests of purgation (of suspected persons).

† This date, I find, on calculation according to the rules of the Siâmese luni-solar calendar, to correspond to Thursday, the 4th February, A.D. 1356 (old style).

‡ I omit, as unimportant, the long sequel of the titles of this monarch which follow here.

§ Then the capital of Siâm, since 1350 A.D.

Article 1st.

If both accuser and accused desire to resort to the Ordeal, this may be of seven kinds, *viz.* : (1). Sinking the hand into molten lead ;—(2). Swearing upon oath ;—(3). Walking together through fire ;—(4). Diving together under water ;—(5). Competing in a swimming race against stream ;—(6). Competing in a swimming race across the river [and seeing who first reaches the opposite bank] ;—(7). Lighting tapers of equal size [and seeing which keeps alight the longest].

Before proceeding to the test, let the judges accompany both contenders to buy, at the same place, each (the following articles) :—(1). one live cock, —(2). bee's wax,—(3). raw (unspun) cotton thread,—(4). *sòmpâi* pods,*—(5). *makrût* limes,†—(6). one new rice earthen pot,—(7). one new earthen saucepan,—(8). one *pha-nûng* (skirt or nether garment),—(9). one *phâ-hôm* (scarf worn about the waist) ; and to purchase besides all the requisites for the *bâi Srîs* ‡ at the same place. After this let the judges take into custody the two contenders, have them dressed in white garments [presumably the skirt and scarf just purchased], and require them to keep the observances [of fast, morality, *etc.*] without ever leaving the place of their retreat. The judges shall cook rice [food] for them and give it to them to eat ; and they should carefully watch if any change of temper [for better or worse] takes place in the person of the two detained. Should one of these injure the other by words or acts, he shall be declared guilty, and his cause lost. While the two contenders remain under charge of the judges, let the latter not allow anyone to approach and speak to them. Should either of them quit the place of confinement, he shall be declared the loser of the cause.

For the proof by water, let the judges drive two stakes six cubits apart (ten English feet) [in the bed of the stream or pond] ; and erect a shed, and a chapel [or canopied stand], whereon to place the offerings of food to the gods. They should prepare these offerings [themselves] and lay them upon the stand *au complet*, as in the following list :—

(1). Two pieces of white calico, each five spans broad,—(2). Two ducks, —(3). Two fowls,—(4). Four new rice-pots,—(5). Four new saucepans.

And let them get ready the *bâi-Srî* oblations as prescribed ; and, before proceeding to the test, let them light the incense sticks and waxen tapers, and worship [with them] the Devas.

Article 2nd.

Should the ordeal be by fire or water, let the judges order the parties who stand security for the disputants, to set down for the latter's account, on each side, the following sums :—

* Pods of the *Acacia rugata*, credited with purifying properties, termed by the Burmese *Kembûen*, and used in their lustrations.

† *Citrus medica ;* to the fruits of which are attributed the same cleansing properties.

‡ A term derived from the Sanskrit *pâya-Srî*, or *pâyasa*. In Siâm it is employed to designate plantain-leaf platters or crockery dishes, sometimes superposed one on the other in many layers, so as to form a tapering structure, replenished with oblations of cooked rice, sweetmeats and fruits, intended for the deity proposed to be worshipped or propitiated.

Harrowing fee*	2½	Ticals ;—
Fee to the Recorders (*Alakshas*) for reading the invocation of the deities	1½	,,
Fee for pressing down under water the necks of the contenders†	½	,,
Gong-beating fee	½	,,
Cost of Diving-Pole	1½	,,
Sitting fee [for Chief Judge]	3	,,
Collar fee‡	½	,,
Fee to two constables	1½	,,

The requisite objects for the trial are, for each side : —

2 *Kajangs* (roofing mats of palm or screw-pine leaves sewn together) ;
1 White dress (composed of skirt and scarf) ;
1 Sheet of white calico for surrounding the enclosure ;
1 Live cock that can crow at each watch (of the night) :
2 Fowls to be offered in worship to the tutelary deity of the spot ;
2 Bowls of arrack to be poured in lustration to the same deity ;
2 Bowls to be offered [as drink] to the judges ;
2 *Lengs* (half-cocoanut shells) of best husked rice (not glutinous) ;
2 ditto of best white glutinous rice :
1 New rice-pot } both with lids ;
1 New saucepan }
1 Water goblet ;
1 Mortar and pestle (to pound chillies for curry), with rice-ladle and curry-ladle :§
2 Drinking cups (for the arrack) ;
6 Ticals weight of hardened wax ;
1 Ball of cotton thread, to tie to the harrow, to make the *mangala sutra*‖ and to tie the declaration of mutual agreement to the trial made by both parties [in writing in a folding book] ;

Indian pepper [*piper longa*, used in condiments] ; Garlic and onions ; *Takhrai* [*Andropogon Schœnanthus*, an aromatic plant used in curries and stews] ; *Kha* [a bulbous plant of sharp taste, used for the same purpose] ; *Krach'ai* [a kind of *Allium*] ;

* For harrowing and smoothing over the ember in the ditch for fire-ordeals, and the ground on the river bank for water-ordeals.

† Termed the "neck-pressing fee." In fire-ordeals it is given for pressing down the shoulders of the litigants.

‡ This collar, termed *Klang*, consists of a bamboo pole about six feet long, through which passes a rope tied at both ends. In the middle of the pole two holes are pierced through which the rope is drawn out and passed in again, thus forming a loop which is made to encircle the neck of the convict. As the ends of the pole where the rope is tied lie beyond arms-length, the convict is unable to reach them with his hands, to untie the rope and thus free himself of his bonds.

§ Both made out of a cocoa-nut shell to which a wooden handle is attached.

‖ A diadem made of cotton thread and worn on the head as a charm, commonly termed *mongkhon*. It is worn as a protection from harm, goblins, *etc.*, by each of the two competitors while undergoing the trial whether by fire or water, *etc.* Probably, bits of the consecrated thread were also tied to their wrists, their purport being similar to the Hindû *rákhí*.

Areca-nuts, *siri* leaves, rose-coloured lime, cut tobacco [all chewing materials];

Blachan [paste of salt shrimps].

All the above are to be used within the *maṇḍala* [circle of rites, or enclosure within which the ordeal is performed] for feasting and entertaining the judges during the three days occupied by the trial.

In addition, the following objects are to be supplied on each side:

1 Hair-comb [to comb the hair of the competitors after their bath and head-scrubbing]; scented oil [for anointing their hair]; scented powder and sandal oil [for the unction on their foreheads];

The posts and rafters to support the *kajangs* of the shed [erected as accommodation] for the judges, are to be supplied in equal shares by both sides.

The securities for the plaintiff and defendant shall request them to supply all the above things to the judges.

At two o'clock of the afternoon, let both parties come and enter the *maṇḍala* [enclosure] wherein the ordeal of fire or water is to take place.

The diving-poles shall be taken charge of by sword-bearing officers [of the constabulary]; the beating of the gong [as a signal for the commencement of the proceedings] shall be the business of the judges. In water-ordeals, the officials of the Court shall watch the duration of the dive. When three *klàns** have expired [after the competitors have plunged underneath the surface], let the four constables [or gaolers] raise† both the plaintiff and defendant [out of the water]. Should one of the parties be unable to endure under water for the prescribed time [of three *klàns*] and come up before its expiration, the four constables shall pull up his adversary [by the safety rope]. Then let the judges question the loser who came up first as to the reason he merged out of the water before his antagonist.

Article 3rd.

If a trial by fire has been decided upon, let there be dug a fire-ditch, six cubits long by one wide and one deep [10′ × 1′, 8″ × 1′, 8″ ft.]. Let live coals be disposed on the bottom in a layer one span thick. Then let the judges require both plaintiff and defendant to pay the customary fees; viz., on each side:

Sitting fee (for Head-judge)	¼	Ticals
Fee for reading the invocation	1½	,,
Fee for reading the declaration [or statement] of the case	1½	,,
Fee to constables	1½	,,
Fee for preparation of the *bâi-Srîs*	¾	,,
Fee for setting up the offerings before the shrine of the god Kâla (Yama)	¾	,,
Harrowing fee	2½	,,
Total	12½	Ticals.

* These are measured by means of a clepsydra. The duration of a *Khàn* is, I suppose, about half a minute, as already mentioned in the method of measuring the duration of the dive described by Nârada.

† After having been so long under water, the two competitors are naturally weak and hardly capable of coming out of it by themselves: hence the need of help.

Having required the plaintiff and defendant to wash their feet clean, let the constable and the judge who is to read the adjuration, examine the soles of the feet and toes of both parties and see whether they bear any marks of ulcerations or excoriations recent or old. The judge who is to read the adjuration shall then draw a likeness of the toes and soles of the two disputants and register any appearance of wounds, etc., which he may have remarked.

After the ordeal has taken place, the feet of both parties shall be similarly examined, and further examination shall be made on the 3rd, 8th, and 15th days following the date of the trial: after this period no further examination shall be required.

When proceeding to such examinations, the parties shall be required to wash their feet; then should any traces of blisters or other lesions appear, let the officials holding the quest, puncture the suspicious parts with a needle [to see whether there is suppuration].

If in ordeals by fire the upper part only of the foot or toes is injured, this cannot constitute a loss of the case [on the part of the individual who has met with such an injury].

Should neither plaintiff nor defendant receive any burns or blisters while going through the test, it is a sign that both are sincere [have acted loyally]; they are then to be made to pass through a second ordeal by water.

If, on the contrary, both get their feet blistered or burnt, they are both to be regarded as mendacious.*

Article 4th.

When, in order to decide a dispute between two parties, recourse is to be had to a fire-ordeal and one of the parties in litigation is a mendacious individual who knows charms and incantations by which he can prevent his feet from getting hurt and cause those of his adversary to be injured instead, or else [whilst allowing his own to become burnt and swollen] he can cause those of his antagonist to become hurt in the same manner,—let the Recorder and the constables watch him attentively, and if they suspect any foul doings on his part, let them bring him up for investigation [to discover the fraud].

Article 5th.

If the plaintiff asserts that he lent money, clothing or other valuables to the defendant and brings up the latter before the court to investigate the matter; and if upon the judge questioning the defendant about the loan, the defendant denies any such transaction and calls for an ordeal [in proof of his denial]; and if the plaintiff, not possessing any witnesses to testify to his statement, takes up the challenge and consents to an ordeal [together with his adversary], either by water, fire, or a swimming match against, or across a stream, or an ordeal by candles, let him designate the deity whom he desires to witness the test. Whether the plaintiff or defendant is defeated in the trial, it is stated that the *devas* do not side with persons of profligate heart who are disloyal and unsincere.

Let the court [prior to the ordeal] require both parties to set down, on

* Their case is then dismissed with a fine, if of a purely civil nature.

each side, the amount of the money or valuables in dispute; and [after its conclusion], fine the loser twice that amount.* Return to the victor the amount of his stake; the remainder divide into two parts; one is "fine" [*sin mâi*, given to the victor]; the other is "corrective" [*ph'inai*, *i.e.*, amende, from *vinaya*]; it belongs to the Government.

In the event of both antagonists proving equal in the contest, let the *ph'inai* be exacted from each of them [*i.e.*, half the amount of their stake].

Article 6th.

When two persons have a case against any two other persons, which comes under the jurisdiction of any civil Court whatever; and, in order to decide it, recourse is to be had to an ordeal; and the judges agree to this course; it is ordained that a sum shall be required as security to be deposited by both parties before proceeding with the test.

If the ordeal is to be held by lighted candles, let the Vice-president of the Court, two counsellors and the ushers sit together to watch the result and prevent the adversaries from quarrelling.

If any of the parties has an evil tongue and begins to insult the other, he is to be declared guilty; for his case is not strong, hence he purposely resorts to artifice: he must therefore be held to have lost his case.

If the geese and fowls cooked for offerings are raw, let it be written down.

Let there be prepared candles of exactly the same size. The cotton threads forming the wick of each should be counted and seen to be equal in number. Let there be made also wooden stands [candlesticks] to support the candles.

Once the candles are lit, should flies or other insects adhere to one of them and thus cause it to go out; or, should it go out [without any apparent cause] by itself, let the owner of that candle be declared the loser, and let him be fined twice the amount staked [including his stake].

Article 7th.

When holding an ordeal by water, the Recorder shall read the pledge and the address to the gods. Then the plaintiff and defendant shall bathe and wash their heads; after this let them have a game of cock-fighting [as a preliminary augury].

When both are about to dive under water, let there be stuck two poles [on the bottom], six cubits apart (10 feet); and let a levelling stick be placed over the shoulders of both parties.† The gong having been beaten thrice [as a signal], the necks of both parties are to be pressed down under water simultaneously, and the retaining ropes [tied round the waist] let go. Both parties must then dive at the same time, and reach as far down as the foot of their respective pole. The clepsydras must then be set agoing together.‡

* That is, the amount of his stake *plus* an equal sum, the total being the amount taken as fine.

† *I.e.*, from above the shoulders of one, across to the shoulders of the other, to keep them down at the same level.

‡ They generally consist of a brass bowl with a small aperture in the bottom, set afloat in a bucket of water.

Once the parties have dived, the one appearing first above water shall have the neck surrounded with the *Klang* collar [as a sign of defeat]. Then let the rope be pulled, to draw up the other party still under water.

If at the expiration of six *pâdas* neither the plaintiff nor the defendant appears above the water, let the ropes be pulled up, and both parties helped out of the water.*

SCALE OF CHARGES.

Fees for the water ordeal to be paid cumulatively by both parties.

For the clerk reading the statement of the case ...	3	Ticals.
For the Recorder reading the invocation and pledge...	3	,,
Cost of Diving-poles	3	,,
Sitting fee for judges	6	,,
Cost of *Klang* collar	1	,,
For the constables	3	,,
Harrowing (and sweeping?) fee	5	,,
Gong-beating fee	1	,,
Neck-pressing fee	1	,,
Total	26	,,

Sundry Charges.

Cost of erecting shrine for offerings to the tutelary deities...	4	Ticals. ,,
White dresses	4	,,
2 ducks	½	,,
2 fowls	½	,,
2 sets of *bâi-Sri* offerings	1½	,
Incense-sticks, tapers, *makût* limes, *sîm-pâi* pods, etc.	¼	,,
4 new rice-pots) 4 new saucepans)	¼	,,
Total	11	,,
Great total for the Water Ordeal	37	,,

Fees for the Fire Ordeal.

Sitting fee	8	Ticals.
For the Recorder reading the invocation and pledge...	3	,,
For the Clerk reading the statement of the case ...	3	,,
For the Constables	3	,,
Bâi-Sri offerings	1½	,,
Cost of worship to the shrine of *Kûla*	1½	,,
Harrowing fee	5	,,
Total for both parties ...	25	,,

* This time, of 36 minutes, seems enormous; but it is to be remembered that native divers are accustomed to remain under water many minutes; and that this figure is given as probably the utmost theoretical limit of a dive, never however reached in practice.

Text of the invocation** [satyâdhishṭhâna, **declaration of truth**], **read by the Recorder.*

May glory come to me as, with the five extremities touching the ground, I salute the "Three Jewels" [of the Buddhist Triad].

With folded hands uplifted to the forehead, I pay homage to the lustrous and pure feet of the noble, most excellent Teacher [Buddha] who is endowed with the 32 major characteristics of a great man and with the 84 minor distinguishing marks of an eminent being.

And I beg to worship the Law, contained in 84,000 chapters and the three Baskets [or collections],—the *Suttanta*, the *Abhidhamma* and the *Vinaya*.

Next I salute the Congregation, headed by the 8 orders of the elect (*Ariyas*)† ; and the excellent disciples who govern and maintain the teaching [of the Law].

I turn then to pay my respects to the *Devas*, *i.e.* the three-eyed Indra, the sixteen Brahma archangels [of the Brahma-heaven] ; Dhataraṭṭha, Virûḷhaka, Virûpaksha and Kuvenurâja [the four *Lokapâlas*] ; the mighty Iśvara (Śiva) and [his consort] Umâ ; Nârâyaṇa [Viśṇu] and powerful Vâyu ; Viśvakarman and the Nâga kings ; Yama and Vessuvaṇa ; the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Ketû and Râhû, —almighty regents of the nine planets ; the guardian [tutelary] deities of earth, fire, air and water ; the *Garuḍas* and *Kumbhaṇḍas*, the angels of the six *Kâmadevalokas* ; and the goddess Mekhalâ, empress of the ocean. May they all protect me !

Also do I salute Dharaṇi, the Earth goddess, the tutelary deities of mountains and caves, the wandering *devas* of space [*akâsa devas*, flitting about in movable mansions] ; all the gods of one milliard *chakravâḷas* ; of the infinite, boundless universe.

Respectfully I present them the oblations that the plaintiff and defendant – in pursuance of ancient tradition – herewith offer ; namely, cocoanuts, sugar sweet as honey (*tâlamadhurasa*), fresh bananas, sugar-canes, beans, peas, til-seed, and boiled sweetmeats, red and white, -all arrayed in a fine-looking row. And *bali* offerings of food, spirituous drinks and roast fowls, I beg to give as *pûjâ* ; and sweet odorous essences, fresh toilet-paste, fragrant flour [toilet-powder] perfumed with sandal, and brilliant hair-oil delightfully smelling ; and rice and curries, *areca* nuts and *betel* leaves, waxen tapers and wreaths of fresh flowers, I herewith offer.

All these things I beg to offer in adoration [*pûjâ*] to the almighty *Devas*, the tutelary deities watching over streams and trees, roads, monasteries and shrines, mountains and cities, and all places of the universe.

May the excellent protecting deities of this land, benignantly turn their eyes on us and deign to receive the offerings, tastefully arranged on the altar and looking so beautiful, designed for them.

Come, one and all, and partake of the food in good and cheerful spirit. The plaintiff and defendant have both offered it and reverently worship you. According to the rule, I beg to read their pledge, in the usual form.

* The original is written in the metre termed by the Siamese *Rât-lilit*.

† Those who have attained the eight degrees of sanctification ranging from *Sotâbatti-magga* to *Arahattaphala*.

*Text of the Pledge and Adjuration (Omkara), used for water Ordeals, and read by the Recorder.**

1. Ye, the gods of all mountains, streams, lakes, creeks, be attentive! [lit., "turn your mental eye"].

2. And ye, bright tutelary deities of the city and kingdom, Süa-müang, Song-müang and Lak-müang;†

3. Ye, gods of the ponds [*saras*], caves, woods, mountains and trees, grottoes [*guhâ*] and wells, aqueducts and rivulets;

4. Thou, Mekhalâ, goddess of the perilous seas, of streams, waters and rivers;

5. Ye, deities of the lower regions, down to the deepest stratum of the earth, to the realm of Nâgas and Viruḷa, and the boundaries of the world;

6 and of the upper spheres, as far aloft as the highest Brahma-heaven and the most perfect and pure abodes of existence [where transmigratory life is consummated and salvation attained];

7. Thou, the supreme deity of mount *Kailâsa*, towering in the middle of space, brightly shining and infinitely pleasant;

8. Thou, powerful Lord Viṣṇu; all ye deities of space (*âkâśadevâ*); Thou, Ganeśa, who wanderest scanning the universe with the mental eye: --listen, ye all!

9. Whichever be mendacious [of the two parties undergoing the ordeal], come ye all together, and in less than the twinkling of an eye deprive him of life.

10. And ye, tutelary deities (*arakshadevâ*), show your supreme might; manifest it luminously at once;

11. And cause for him to arise serpents and water-snakes, gigantic and terrific water-demons, to seize and cling to his feet;

12. [and let there be produced] monsters in the form of *Yakshas*, who frown with their eyebrows and roll around their fiery eyeballs, and make a [gurgling] noise, like *Khrü Khrü*, to seize him by the neck;

13. and bite him with force until their teeth bend under the strain. Let these big, terrific monsters with long tongue,

14. staring eyes, bristling hair and ruffled beard, big, protruding belly, and all black in colour,

15. petrify him [make him as if spell-bound] with their looks, and molest, pursue, strike, overthrow him; seize him, tread upon him, fierce and inexorable, in the watery deep;

16. so as to compel him to merge out of the water and lose hold of the [diving] pole;—him who is mendacious and shows the false to be true.

17. And let the water-butterfly-demons‡ who dwell in subaqueous caverns, come; and also the *ph'i sâng* [stinking demons of corpses];

* The original is written in the metre termed by the Siâmese *Kâph Ch'abang* (*Kâvya-ch'apa*); in which each line consists of 16 feet divided into three parts, numbering respectively 6, 4, and 6 feet.

† The three *Grâma-devatâs* or public *Penates*, of each of which shrines exist in every capital of Siâm and Cambodia. They represent respectively, the glory and pride, the life and prosperity, and the firm establishment and long-continuance of the state and its capital.

‡ *Ph'i süa nam* are *Yakshinis* and correspond closely to the mermaids of western legends.

18. and the disembodied evil spirits of those who perished by violent death,—by falling from trees, or [murdered] on the road; or were drowned; who died in child-birth; and also of those who died a natural death;

19. of those who perished devoured by tigers, crushed or pierced by the tusks of elephants, by rhinoceroses, or by the horns of buffaloes; and who died of fright, their *Khwân* having left them suddenly;—*

20. Let all [these demons] come together to harass him who is mendacious, strike and wound him, so that he shall have, in less than a breath, to come up above the water.†

21. Let his falseness cause him to see—a dreary vision!—terrific dangers of all sorts round him; *viz. Bhûtas, Phrâi* demons of monstrous size, crocodiles, porpoises,

22. *makaras* [sea-dragons], mermaids, *herâs* [monsters like crocodiles with horns on their heads], sharks;—all swimming and circling round him;

23. biting and nipping him all round; squeezing and pressing him from below and above; and molesting him in many other ways until he loses hold [of the diving-pole] and emerges to the surface.

24. with an emaciated, ghastly face, pale and sad, discouraged and desolated, his *Khwân* having forsaken him.

25. For the truthful man, as he dives under the surface, may the waters part, separate and retire;

26. may no sign of guilt become manifest about him, by the power of the protection accorded him by the gods;

27. may he breathe freely [whilst under water]; may the waters keep away from him, so that he be at ease.

28. The man who is sincere need be in no dread of dangers: these will keep away from his person.

29. Let whosoever is in the right be comfortable and free from accidents of any kind.

30. If, however, the plaintiff and defendant are both insincere and have simply been slandering and falsely accusing each other,—

31. Or if one of them spoke what is false, and is guilty, and went and offered oblations in *bali* trays to the tree-sprites or the *phi sâng*,

32. soliciting their assistance in obtaining a victory over his adversary;

33. or if he has bribed them with offerings, inducing them thereby to save him from defeat;—

34. Or if he has seduced the judges in his favour and induced them to alter the statements of the case [the evidence collected],

35. and the judges have connived with him and perverted the facts as he wished, so as to turn all points in his favour;—

36. and the sprites and other deities have lent assistance in perpetrating the fraud, and without mature reflection

37. have received such *bali* offerings from the false man and caused him to win the ordeal;—

38. and the sincere party who accused his adversary rightly and spoke

† *Khwân* is the spirit of composure, the *hu let-hya* of the Burmese, an attendant genius or fairy which forms the welfare of human beings.

‡ Three *khâns* or restrictions of the breath being, as already said, the time required for the ordeal to be valid.

the truth, being meanwhile quite unsuspicious [of the fraud practised for his defeat], did not think of having recourse to artifice and of captivating for himself by offerings the favour of the *Devas*, etc. ;

39. [If this has occurred] then let the *Devas* who proved guilty of such wickedness, and the *Pisâcha* goblins who had a hand in the fraud and lent colour to the subversion [of truth],

40. and gave the guilty party the victory with deliberate partiality, as a requital for the oblations which they received from him ;

41. May such [*Devas* and sprites] be precipitated deep down in the hells and there remain for a whole *Buddhantarakalpa* in excruciating suffering ;

42. Without ever seeing the rays of the sun or moon, perpetually burning in the gloomy darkness,

43. tormented by atrocious pain ; and may they not be reborn into this world in time for the advent of the future Buddha [so as not to be saved by him],

44. for having artfully subverted the truth and caused it to vanish before falsehood.

45. When their term of punishment in hell has expired, and [on leaving it] they are about to receive once more a corporeal form, may they be reborn in the lowest order of existence,

46. destitute of wealth, beauty, discernment and intelligence.

47. May they be reborn in a low caste, with body ulcerated and rotting, disabled and crippled.

48. May they always be outwitted and outdone in everything by others ; and this because they have perverted the truth into indecent falsehood.

49. All ye who are witnesses, O deities of the earth, streams, water expanses, hills and caves,

50. mountain-rivulets ; and who have in custody all places of the universe !

51. as soon as you have heard this appeal [made to you], you should investigate [the case] with your spiritual insight and with unbiased disposition.

52. Let the truthful be proved to be in the right and the mendacious guilty. Be careful of this. Do not let yourselves be influenced by partiality or antipathy, for the one or the other party.

53. Let the one who spoke falsehood with the malignant intent to cause harm to the other be unmasked before all ;

54. make him restless, uneasy, unable to endure even for a moment under the water, so that he may emerge at once.

55. Whoever among you, O *Devas*, deigns to take an interest in this trial and helps to the success of the rightful and to the ruin of the guilty,

56. may he attain an aerial mansion in a more exalted sphere of heaven.

57. If he be a *Bhûmadevatâ*, may he be raised to perpetual bliss in the *Tavatiñsa* heaven.

58. May he for ever and in every way prosper more and more in his newly attained state !

59. And ye, O *Bhûtas* and water-demons, who, being of compassionate heart, fond of lustre and glory,

60. help to protect the just, may you be successful in all your pursuits !

61. And the judges who act rightfully, may they be for ever free from calamities and reverses.

62. And the *Ph'î-sâng*, *Bhûtas* and *Ph'râi* demons who protect him [the just man], may they be redeemed from their condition of *Yakshas* and *Ph'î-sâng* (*Pisâchas*).

63. May they attain the sphere of the *Suras* (gods), where there are bevies of celestial maidens (*apsaras*), so that they may be merry and happy,

64. and be freed from the state of suffering (*bhayadukkhâ*), by virtue of the power [gained] by having acted rightly;

65. and [may they] then be appointed to rule over the realm of heaven, as a reward for their probity. May the false party be scornfully defeated

66. and the truthful achieve a splendid triumph. The false man, the culprit, may he find his death in the waters!

Adjuration for the Fire Ordeal.

1. We, who are the judges [in this case], beg to announce our resolve, taking the Buddha, the Law and the Order

2. as our three refuges and protections from ignorance. May they [the Three Jewels] make the Truth appear to us,

3. and dispel the mental darkness that, in the three worlds, causes people to err, and to pervert the truth for falsehood.

4. We salute and adore all the *Devas* and tutelary deities of great and supreme power:

5. above as far as the radiant Brahma-heavens; and below, down to the world of Nâgas;

6. before and behind; to the left and the right; the deities of the earth and trees, and of space. May they look upon us!

7. [The deities] of *Kailâsa* and *Meru* and of the four earthly continents:

8. *Uttarakuru*, *Amaragoyâna*, *Pubbavideha* and *Jambu-dvîpa*;

9. Ganeśa who is the executor of Śiva's commands [*Śivakarma*]; all deities of the earth; the great emperors of the four quarters of the world (*Mahârâjikâ*);

10. The gods of the *Tâvatiṁsa* and of the sixteen Brahma-heavens of resplendent mightiness, and Śiva and Nârâyaṇa;

11. Umâ-bhagavatî and Lakshmî, their divinely charming wives;

12. and the beautiful, bright nymphs of heaven standing at their left and right

13. nine millions, ninety millions in number; and Das-akaṇṭha [Râvaṇa], resplendent in the majesty of his power;

14. the Sun- and Moon-gods who travel, radiant, across the aerial expanse; Mars, Mercury, Jupiter,

15. Venus, Saturn, Râhû and Ketû, regent deities of their respective planets; the deities of the four worlds;*

16. Kâla [Yama] and Kalî [Yamunî or Durgâ?]; Pattugâmî (?) and the victorious Râmadeva [Râma, Râmâchandra];

17. *Sâmala-devas* (dark deities?) of great might; and the great and just guardian emperors of the four quarters, to wit: King Kuvera,

18. Virûḷapakkha, Viruḷhaka and Dhataraṭṭha; and the mighty Bali;

* I suppose these include: *Devaloka*, *Manussaloka*, *Nirayaloka* and *Petaloka*.

19. the *Rishis*, *Siddhas*, *Vidyadharas*, *Gandharvas*, and all the *Devas* to whom Buddha entrusted the protection of his religion

20. for 5,000 years; and the goddess Maṇî-mekhalâ, and Varuṇa and Vâyu;

21. Dharaṇi, Gangâ (goddess of fresh-water) and the deity of salt-water; all endowed with perfect powers, and who are our refuge and protection in this world!

22. May they [all these deities] cause all the sinful, ferocious beasts who molest and jeopardize man on this earth, to arise

23. and appear before the eyes of him who has said what is false, making him shake and shiver with fright;

24. may his skin blister and his hair bristle on his head; may the terror of the approaching danger appear depicted on his countenance, and his limbs tremble as he sees the glare of the brisk flames.

25. O God of Fire, so gloriously shining and mighty! scorch and blister him as he enters the flames!

26. O God of Fire, radiant and mighty in these accumulated embers! scald, blister, burn him, so that his guilt may appear evident before every eye!

27. We beg you all, O *Devas*, great and small, to lend your help in ruining and destroying him.

28. We beg you, Lord Varuṇa and your consort (Varuṇi)!

29. who, whether you be below within the earth or above in space, can always see from everywhere, make manifest the truth to us. Ye, deities of the woods who ride on *Vikshas*!

30. Ye, powerful *Devas*, and guardian *Devas*, and tutelary gods of our city!

31. Ye deities of the earth and trees, and all other divine beings of whom we do not know the names!

32. We beg to invite you all to come and assist in deciding this case, its truth and falsehood, according to true justice.

33. We respectfully present you the *bali* offerings, sweet and sour, of various sorts, to wit: *bananas*, sugar-canes, cocoanuts and molasses;

34. sweet and beautiful dainties and fruits of various kinds, which both the plaintiff and defendant have prepared.

35. We beg to offer them to you, O *Devas*, that ye may be propitious and clement.

36. Though few and small be the oblations, disdain them not; deign to accept them as they are.

37. Treat us not with contempt, nor give us blame, nor bear us rancour, nor do us evil and damage.

38. And ye, O ferocious beasts who are wont to sin, do [the right party] no harm, be kind to him and spare his life.

39. But the culprit who is mendacious, may he, as he enters the fire, be instantly harmed by the Fire-God;

40. May he instantly have his skin blistered and scorched; for he has spoken falsely and shown dishonesty.

41. And ye, great tutelary deities, come in haste and help in doing him harm.

42. We only beg you to spare to him—for this time—his life alone. Deign to work this miracle, so that it may appear manifest to the eyes of the world.

BANGKOK, *January* 3, 1895.

THE OFFICIAL PRAYER OF ISLÁM AND ITS LIBELLERS.

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

Whatever allowances one may be disposed to make for the exaggerations of party-warfare and however great may be one's indignation at unredressed atrocities, Armenian or other, if proved to have taken place, there can be only one opinion as to the impropriety of sweeping calumnies against the Muhammadan religion for the purpose of inflaming and misleading the public mind against Turkey. In the book by the Rev. F. Greene on "The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk," which appears to have been largely circulated by the Anglo-Armenian Committee and to which Mr. Gladstone has not hesitated to give the support of a name, the prestige of which is dear even to his political opponents, I find a gross misrepresentation regarding what is called "the official prayer of Islám," including both Sunnis and Shiahs, which is alleged to be a cause of "the non-fulfilment of Ottoman promises in regard to Christian subjects and the frequent massacres of the latter." Were such a prayer a possibility, except in the case of some irresponsible fanatic, Christian or Muslim, in time of actual war, the sooner those who sanction it are removed "bag and baggage" to a desert island where they can do no mischief—not to Armenia, which Mr. Gladstone apparently forgot when recommending the migration of the Turk to Asia Minor,—the better for outraged humanity, but the fact is that no such "official prayer" exists. The allegation is an insult to all who profess Islám, to our allies of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and to our Muhammadan fellow-subjects. I happen to have the volume which contains all the official prayers and sermons for the guidance of Imáms and worshippers throughout the dominions acknowledging either the sovereignty or the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, issued by authority and sanctioned by the religious Heads of the Sunni community and I now translate the real "official prayer" of Islám, the prayer for the Sultan, that for the Khalífa for the time being, and even that prescribed for use in time of a religious war (Jihád), which, as I have already explained, can merely be undertaken when the Muhammadan religion is in danger, when Muhammadans are driven from their homes *because* they profess Islám, when there is a special leadership and there are reasonable prospects of success. It will be seen that, even in times of such excitement, it is patience and vigilance that are prescribed for the religious warrior, not the massacre or plunder of "the infidel," much less is the prayer an apology for, or an incitement to, the outrages of Mr. Greene's "prayer." Without referring to the fiery utterances of the Crusaders, including Peter the Hermit, our own National Anthem contains a prayer for the confusion of our enemies which is not conceived in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. Her Majesty is also entitled the "Defender of the (Christian) Faith," the special sense in which the Sultan is called a Gházi, without this term implying what popular mistake has attached to it. Be that as it may, the juxtaposition of the prayers as

they really are and what they are believed to be by the atrocity-mongers will do more than any words of mine to expose the inexcusable libel which has been scattered broadcast regarding a sister-religion of Judaism and Christianity.

The "official" prayer of Islám (as read).

The Khutba or Sermon (translated from the collection of 81 authorized Khuthas in use in all territories under Ottoman rule or suzerainty—including Egypt—with the same number of prayers for all festivals of Islám, marriages, deaths, funerals and other occasions).

"The DEFINITE KHUTBA FOR SULTAN ABDUL HAMID KHAN (page 77):

"Praise be to God from whom we ask for victory against hostile people; for our Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan; and ask for him the aid by the angels of the Mercitul: for our Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan: and Glory be to Him from whom we ask for help by the grace of the Korán; for our Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan. Him from whom we ask for support, Him the Benefactor: for our Sultan etc. Him from whom we seek spiritual solicitude at all times; for our Sultan etc. Learn that the Sultan is the shadow of God in the world in order to give rest to man (human peace); for the carrying out of justice, prosperity, righteousness and generosity. He, the Benefactor, has commanded us to obey the Sultan; according to His saying, to Him be glory and splendour, in the Korán "and is ordained the command from you and is due at all times" that you may be obedient to our Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan. For he, as has been commanded to him by his Lord, is zealous in guarding us from people of idolatry

The "official" prayer of Islám, as represented in "the Armenian Crisis and the rule of the Turk" by the Rev. F. D. Greene, M.A., to which is prefixed the following letter in Mr. Gladstone's own handwriting:

"I am glad to hear that your work is about to be published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, as I believe it will materially assist in rousing public attention to the recent outrages in Armenia which almost pass description and have inflicted indelible disgrace on the Sultan of Turkey and on his officers and soldiers concerned in perpetrating, in denying and in shielding them. I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Rev. F. D. Greene."

"The non-fulfilment of Ottoman promises in regard to Christian subjects and the frequent massacres of the latter are an exact fulfilment of

The Official Prayer of Islam

which is used throughout Turkey and daily repeated in the Cairo 'Azhar' University by ten thousand Muhammedan Students from all lands. The following translation is from the Arabic:

"'I seek refuge with Allah from Satan [the *rejecm*] the accursed. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful: "O Lord of all Creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion! O Allah! Make their children orphans and defile their abodes! Cause their feet to slip; give them and their families, their

and rebellion; and it is fitting that we should invoke God: Oh God! we ask Thee by Thy mighty name for speedy victory to our Sultan."

KHUTBA FOR DAYS OF JIHÁD OR THE HOLY WAR AND EXPEDITION.

"Praise be to God who is the best of Helpers; For we say, verily help us against the infidel people; He is who is dissatisfied with the licentious; we ask Him: "Do help us against the infidel people." Glory to Him who scatters the strength of unbelievers; so we say verily "Do help us" etc. He who surrounds with his aid his grateful worshippers; Help us etc. He whom God sent to give vigour to the lukewarm; Help us etc. Know ye that God whose name be exalted has written upon you the Jihád (against) the wicked. Therefore, exert yourselves and say Help us against the infidel people. And be ye patient in the fatigues of the expedition (ghizâ); for verily His help makes bold those who watch. Then say ye: Help us etc. Thou art our Lord (Maula). Then help us against the people of infidels."

households and their women, their children and relations by marriage, their brothers and their friends, their possessions and their race, their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems O Lord of all Creatures!"'

Mr. Greene does not inform us for which of the five prescribed daily prayers, the above horror is substituted, by what authority, for what purpose and why it should be so specially violent in the sedate University of Islam. Let us compare now the following quotation from the National Anthem with the Jihád Sermon in the opposite column, than which, one would suppose, nothing would be a stronger appeal to fanaticism:

Quotation from the National Anthem.

"Oh Lord, our God arise
Scatter our enemies
And make them fall!
Confound their politics
Frustrate their knavish tricks
On Thee our hopes we fix
God save us all."

THE KHUTBA FOR THE KHALÍFA.

After the general invocation of blessings on all the prophets (Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad etc) is finished "now inclining one foot, read the prayer for the Sultan":

THE KHUTBA FOR THE KHALÍFA.

"Oh God; have mercy on the Khalífas who have been in the right path and the Imáms who have been well-guided, who have ruled and with righteousness and thus have striven for justice. Elohim! (Allahumma). Aid and help Thy servant and Thy Khalífa, the Great Sultan, the exalted Kháqán, the

In INDIA this Khutba is not said in 9/10ths of the existing Sunni Mosques. The practice is followed, as in other Muhammadan countries, which are neither under Ottoman nor under English rule, of merely praying for the ruler for the time being, whether he be an Amir, Shah, King, or other Chief. The INDIAN KHUTBA is as follows:

"Oh God, bless the ruler of the time being (or of the age) and render him benevolent and favorable to the people. Help those who help the religion of Muhammad. Let us also help those who

shadow of God on earth; the Lord (Maula) of the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajam*; Servant of the two sacred shrines (of Mecca and Medîna).

"For he is a Sultan, son of a Sultan, the Gházi = 'defender of the Faith,' Sultan Abdul Hamîd Khan, son of the Ghazi, Sultan Abdulmajîd Khan, son of the Ghazi Sultan Mahmûd Khan, May God cause his Khiláfat to endure and perpetuate in justice his reign and cause his righteousness and generosity to extend on the two worlds to the end of time and the end of ages! Amen! Oh Thou who answerest those who ask and oh Thou, Best of Helpers, Allahumma (Elohim); Help him with a help of holiness; and make him victorious with a near Victory. Oh God, help the armies of Mussulmans AND THE SOLDIERS OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN ONE GOD and write (direct) Peace and Health and Welfare upon us and upon the Pilgrims and defenders of the Faith and upon travellers and upon residents (in one place) upon those present and absent, on Thy land and on Thy sea, of the people of Muhammad, upon them all and be their peace upon the Apostles (those who have been sent) and Praise be to God, the ruler of the world ("then raising the foot and after silent prayer read the verse":) For God commandeth that there be justice and generosity and kindness to one's neighbours and abstinence from the profligate, the hypocrite and the rebellious. He preaches to you, so that you may remember. (In the prayer for the Sultan that follows in much the same strain, the conclusion is) "and guard and protect this city and all the cities of the Muslims and blessings on all the prophets and Apostles."

help Islám. Weaken those who weaken Islám."

[This prayer, therefore, is intended in India for Her Majesty, as "the ruler of the age." In many Muhammadan countries prayer is also offered "for all Muhammadan Kings."

The following passage, however, occurred in a New Year's sermon that was heard by an European visitor. It was delivered at Cairo on a special occasion and under special circumstances, in the days of Sultan Mahmûd:

"Oh God, assist the forces of the Muslims and the armies of the Unitarians.* Oh God frustrate the infidels and polytheists, Thine enemies, the enemies of religion. Oh God! invert their banners, and ruin their habitations and give them and their wealth as booty to the Muslims." The latter passage, although referring to an impending conflict, was objected to by pious Muhammadans as "worldly" and there is reason to believe that it has not been repeated.

* Even this prayer has been held to invoke a blessing on the armies of all "those who believe in one God" or on those who are "Ahl-Ketáb" or "possessors of a holy book," which includes Jews and Christians. I am sure that "the official prayer of Islám" as quoted by Mr. Greene, does not exist, and I also do not believe that "daily ten thousand Muhammadan Students from all lands repeat" any such prayer, "in the Cairo 'Azhar' University."

* This is "Persia" or "Berbery" as our Kings used to add "France" to their titles.—*Ed.*

THE VISIT OF THE SHAHZADA NASRULLAH KHAN TO MOSQUE OF THE ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE AT WOKING.

By the Editor.

The importance of the visit of Shahzada Nasrullah Khan, the second son of the Amir Abdurrahman Khan of Afghanistan, to the Mosque of the Oriental University Institute at Woking, consists in the fact that it was an official recognition of an act of British toleration for, and sympathy with, Muhammadans, of whom so many are British subjects. The Mosque at Woking has no connexion with any propaganda, but was merely founded in order to enable Muhammadan travellers and residents in England to worship in their own way, not only without let or hindrance, but also with every adjunct of respectful consideration. It is connected with the Oriental University Institute, which has been established for the promotion of Oriental, including Muhammadan, learning, and the long list of publications that it has already issued, and that are advertised in this Review, is a proof of its earnest endeavour, within its power, to contribute towards its preservation. As one of its agencies for promoting a better knowledge of, and a greater general interest in, Oriental studies and researches, this Review may not have proved a useless handmaid. The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891 was mainly held under its auspices. The purely practical side of the Institute, that of training Europeans for an Eastern career in a home of learned and pleasant surroundings and in friendly association in studies, though not at meals, with natives of good birth, living as such natives in accordance with their religious or caste requirements, has not yet met with a large measure of success, except in the utilization of its Library and Museum or the services of its Staff, by European and native scholars and officials, for "the spirit of the age" is rather in favour of lessening, than of increasing, wholesome restraints and the devotion to unremunerative specialities, however important to science and to the State. Be that as it may, as the undertaking is purely literary and philanthropic, it enjoys neither the favour of speculators nor that of proselytisers or of adapters of Oriental religions to English tastes.

As for the Mosque, the larger share of the cost of its construction and of that of its maintenance since 1887, has been borne by its founder, a retired Anglo-Indian Government servant, and the rest by a pious and learned Muhammadan princess, by whose name, Shahjehán, or "ruler of the world," the Mosque is called, and whose motto "Nasr min allah" or "Help from God" is inscribed in one of the escutcheons of the Mosque, as an indication that no subscriptions or donations have been asked for, or received by, the Mosque, except one which a royal personage annually bestows, or as, by a strange coincidence, was unexpectedly brought by one, whose name is indicative of God's help "Nasrullah," from the Amir, the first Chief with whom the founder discussed the building of the Mosque in 1885, a date which is also contained in the numerical value of the motto "Help from God," and its loyal addition of "Victory is near."

Indeed, prayers offered in the Mosque have been for our Sovereign and the Muhammadan Princess, as also for the Amir Abdurrahman and "all Muhammadan rulers." Under these circumstances, the Amir's gift of £492 for the expenses of the Mosque could not be refused, but it has been funded so as to give a slight annual income of about £21 towards the maintenance of a building, the first of its kind in Christian Europe, both in date and aim. Enlightened ministers of various religions in this country sympathize with the effort to show our Christian consideration for Muhammadans, whilst opposing the wretched caricature elsewhere, which, whether for gain or notoriety, has converted some Englishmen of the lower orders from bad Christians into worse Muhammadans, who abuse the Lord Jesus, for whom true Muslims have the greatest veneration. If, incidentally, the existence of this Mosque since 1887, the many worshippers from all Muhammadan countries that have since attended it, the recent proceeding thither of the Shahzada and suite in royal carriages and the tardy recognition of the India Office by the deputation of a representative, are calculated to raise Christian and British prestige in the Muhammadan world, this is a welcome accident, though the Mosque was founded without any political *arrière-pensée*, such as is now avowed in connexion with the proposal to build a Mosque in Paris.

The interior of the Mosque was decorated after the founder's visit to the Mosques in Algeria and Tunisia, in part anticipation of the Amir's possible visit to this country, if not of his residence with the founder (see letter from the Amir in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of April, 1894). The Mosque is a *multum in parvo* of various Muhammadan styles of architecture, and contains in its mottoes, arabesques and inscriptions, a summary of the Muhammadan faith, the invocations beginning with "Ya Hayyi" "Oh thou who livest" (Jehovah), and other epithets of God that characterize His mercy, power and goodness.

The Shahzada came with his Sirdars and his entire suite to celebrate the I'd-uz-Zuhá, the greatest Muhammadan festival of the year, also called the "Kurbán Bairam" in Turkey and the "Baqri-I'd" in India. It commemorates the sacrifice by Abraham of a ram instead of his son.

On no previous occasion had the Shahzada all his men (100 in number) with him or had Woking before witnessed such a procession of royal and other carriages, some 23 in number. As he is reported to have said "he had felt for the first time since his arrival in England that he had done his duty," and there is no doubt that, on this occasion, when all Muhammadans are equal and when members of that faith gathered from Persia, India, Egypt, Turkey and other parts, when the Turkish and Persian Embassies were fully represented and telegrams of regret at unavoidable absence came in from the Sultan of Johore,* and others like the Queen's Indian Secretary, who had no idea that the Shahzada

* The Sultan of Johore tried his best to come, but was too ill to do so, and, indeed, died the same evening after performing his prayers, two *Ruka'át*. Next day the Imám of the Mosque was engaged, by request, in reading prayers over the death of this lamented prince, thus showing that the Mosque does its duty to Muhammadans whether in life or death.

was there, that, next to the gathering at Mina near Mecca, though with a long interval as to numbers, there never was such a representative meeting of Islám as His Highness witnessed on that occasion. When the prayers and Khutba or Sermon were concluded, the Shahzada inspected the Imám's Hujra and paid the Founder, who is an old and tried friend of his father, a private visit, partaking of light refreshments, as did also his suite. It may be added that the meal in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice was, as usual, prepared with due regard to the prescribed rites and was partaken of by Muhammadans of all ranks and countries, including the Indian art-workmen at the Earl's Court Exhibition. Subjoined are letters from competent Indian authorities on the significance of the visit. We believe that His Highness prayed for his father, when the Sultan's Imám invoked a blessing on "all Muhammadan rulers," and we sincerely trust that, whatever else may be his impressions as regards this country or whatever we may think as to what might have been left done or undone in his programme or by his *entourage* in England or whatever may be our anticipations as to the results of his visit to Europe, one thing is certain that he will carry away a grateful recollection of Her Majesty and of the opportunity given in this country for Muhammadan worship. "

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN writes: "I am very glad that Nasrullah visited and worshipped at the Woking Mosque, as it will do good. This sign of toleration in England will impress the Afghans far more than a Guildhall Banquet, for it shows that England has a genuine sympathy with its Muhammadan subjects."

GENERAL SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN says:

"I read with interest the account of the Shahzadah's visit to Woking. The 'outing' must have been an agreeable change to him and his following, after the dinners and crowded receptions, and being stared at by the upper ten thousand as if he were some new specimen of humanity. . . .

"I personally knew slightly Afzul Khan—and with the exception of Akbar Khan was for many months closely associated with all the other sons when they were under restraint at Ghuzni in 1840/41. We were all quite young, and more like brothers than ought else—though at the time they were prisoners."

GENERAL A. R. E. HUTCHINSON, former Resident of Gwalior and intimately acquainted with Muhammadan feeling, wrote as follows, before the Shahzada came to this country:

"In writing to a Muhammadan gentleman in India I have mentioned that when the Ameer's son comes to London he will be able to worship in a Musjid, and he and his followers will have an opportunity of judging whether London is 'Dár-ul-Islám' or 'Dár-ul-Harb' and it has struck me that, politically speaking, such an event would go far to open that young chief's eyes on the subject of 'Jihád,' which seems so strong a point in his native land and its surroundings."

After the visit, General HUTCHINSON sent the following letter:

"I have read with great interest the account of the Shahzada's visit to Woking in order to take part in the worship at the Mosque on the occasion

of the celebration of the great Mahomedan festival of Bakri-I'd, and I consider the fact to be important, as it will show the Mahomedan world that England tolerates the religions of all her subjects both in this country and in the vast Empire of India.

"The young Prince will have learnt a lesson that will assist him in the future to combat the teaching of Mullahs, who, in the wild regions of Central Asia, are too ready to take advantage of every occasion to preach a 'Jihád' or Holy War, without any regard to the conditions necessary to make such war legal; and I am sure that His Highness the Amír will be gratified not only at the unique spectacle afforded to the Muslim world by the attendance of his son, escorted by a British officer and riding in Royal equipages, for the purpose of worship; but that the said worship was conducted entirely in accord with Mahomedan ritual, witnessed by a representative congregation of Mahomedan gentlemen of standing, and gained the approbation of the distinguished visitor, who expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which the festival was celebrated, remarking that he felt thankful that he had been given an opportunity of worshipping in this country in a Mahomedan Mosque.

"The Amír's gift towards the support of the Mosque is strong evidence of his appreciation of the success that has attended what may be considered a special object of his solicitude; and it is to be hoped that His Highness's generosity may make the Mahomedan community in London feel that they are specially indebted to yourself for the handsome mosque that has been placed at their disposal for the religious observances of their Faith."

"A FRIEND" remarks: "The importance of the visit consists in the fact that it was a public recognition by the Afghan Prince of the sympathy evoked among Muhammadans, so many of whom are British subjects, by the act of enlightened toleration which established the first Mosque for Moslem worship on British soil."

DESCRIPTION OF THE WOKING MOSQUE.

IN the July number of 1891 of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" was published the prospectus of the Institute, containing a summary of its examinations, the contents of its museum, as also the drawings of the Institute and grounds and of the outside of the Mosque, together with two illuminated pages of the photo-zincographed Korán which it has published and other drawings. In this issue we mainly give a description of the interior of the building. Over the main door to the inside of the Mosque a place has been reserved for a facsimile of the inscription which is over the most ancient Arab Mosque, that of Sidi O'kba, in the Saharan Oasis of that name, of the year 68 of the Hejira. It means: "Happiness is written on its doors; then enter them in peace, believing." At the side are two very large marble slabs which still await commemorative inscriptions and the famous verse of the Korán, called that of the Throne and preceding that of "there is no compulsion in religion."

In the interior, the Mihráb, or niche towards which the faithful turn in prayer and whence the Afghans learnt that the direction of Mecca was not to the south-west in England as it is from Kabul, forms, of course, the

most striking feature. It is not unlike the Mihráb of the famous Mosque of Kairowán, the holy of holies of Muhammadan Mosques in Africa; the fringe of its semi-vault is decorated all round with stalactites from moulds of the Kaid Bay Mosque at Cairo; its panels are marbled grey and red, its Dome being green and gold with arabesques consisting of inscriptions in the most ancient Arabic character, the Kufic, as also in the Tughra style of writing. Inside its semi-circle is the whole of the Fátiha or first Chapter of the Korán in gold letters, and over the Mihráb is the Chapter of the Confession of the Unity of the Godhead and, crowning all inscriptions, is the name of "Allah" "whose glory be glorified" in large letters.

The interior of the Dome of the whole Mosque is covered with Kashmîr shawl designs. Let into it are gold-coloured glass-apertures, through which the light falls and in the midst of it is suspended a Mosque lamp facing the Mihráb.

Below the dome are stone-circles containing invocations in gold letters on a green ground in various Naskhi characters so as to be intelligible to Indians, Turks, Maghrabis, etc., whilst the motto, already alluded to, over the left of the inner doorway, is in beautiful "Nasta'aliq." Around the sills of the Mosque stone-windows are the epithets of God on glass from Constantine in Algeria, taken-out in every variety of colour and arabesque.

The pulpit is constructed from a most elaborate ancient woodcarving procured in Kashmir by the Founder; its back is a marvel of Tunis glass-inscription, beginning with "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate" and, in a circular device, containing the Chapter of the Unity of the Godhead with arabesques made up of other pious passages.

Its cupola, which takes to pieces, is Indian, and shows the artistic manner in which the Arab architect managed to cause a Dome to rise from a square without any apparent break. Its outside is heavily gilt and its inside is green, the religious colour, the cupola of the pulpit representing in miniature the semi-vault of the Mihráb and the whole of the inner Dome of the Mosque, when finished. On the carved Lectern to the right of the pulpit rests a noble Koran in three large volumes, a royal but anonymous gift. Prayer carpets and mats, suited to Sunni and Shiah worshippers respectively, cover the mosaic floor.

Over the Hujra or Oratory and office of the Imám attached to the Mosque and, indeed, its right wing, are to be inscribed the words "House of the Amir Abdurrahman" which, in numerical value, give the year of the Amir's gift. Inside is a complete treasury of priestly weapons, including the trilingual Korán of Bhopál (Arabic, Persian and Urdu); framed Chapters of the Korán to be presented to pious worshippers; commentaries, prayer-books, drawings of the sacred shrines of Mecca and Medina (without, of course, any human figures): the facsimile of the Mihráb and of one of the doorways of the famous Kaid Bay Mosque at Cairo; religious precepts, invocations and, indeed, much to study.

On the left of the Mosque is a room, heated in winter, which contains the necessary water-supply for the ablutions of worshippers when the open reservoir is liable to be frozen; slippers for privileged European visitors who have to take off their boots before entering the Mosque on days that

it is not used. This room leads through a finely carved wooden screen, which has a recess for putting away carpets,—up a staircase to the Minarets, whence the Izán or call to prayers is read. It may be interesting to add that the country in which this call is heard, is one against which the Holy War or "Jihád" may not be waged.

The reservoir in the courtyard at which the worshippers usually wash their feet and hands before entering the holy precincts is in a mosaic basin inside a crescent-shaped approach, screened from observation by a Kashmir gate closing two sides of a mound on and round which trees are planted instead of a railing. The courtyard outside the Mosque is not paved but turfed, thus adding to the silence and quiet of the scene. The Mosque, alike in its exterior and interior, unites various styles of Muhammadan architecture into one harmonious whole somewhat resembling the "Pearl Mosque" of Agra in its outer appearance, though it combines Cairene parapets and a Deccan dome, with the Mogul and Pathan, or Afghan styles of architecture. A wooded secluded spot on a little hill in the Brookwood Cemetery, 6 miles away, but only a few minutes by the railway on which it adjoins, has been set aside and marked with an inscribed stone and the rules for the performance of Muhammadan funerals.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING OF THE 20TH MAY 1895 AND DISCUSSION ON DR. T. H. THORNTON'S LECTURE ON "SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN AND THE INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY."

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on the 20th May, at the Westminster Town Hall, to hear a paper read by Mr. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.L., on "Sir Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy."

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I., presided, and amongst others the following were present: General Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B., The Rt. Honble. Lord Halsbury, The Rt. Honble. Hugh Childers, Lady Sandeman, Mr. Thomas Thornton, Sir Andrew Scoble, K.C.S.I., Q.C., M.P., General Sir T. Gordon, K.C.I.E., Major General Sir Owen T. Burne, K.C.S.I., General Robin Campbell, C.B., Major General Guy Prendergast, Major General G. A. Craster, General C. A. McMahon, the Ven. Archdeacon J. Baly, General Sir Harry Prendergast, K.C.B., V.C., Col. G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., General Crofton, Major General J. P. Marten, Col. Malcolm Green, C.B., Lt.-Col. Heath, Col. Hennell, Deputy Surgeon-General J. C. Penny, Lt. General W. Osborn, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. P. S. Melville, C.S.I., General Kennedy, Syed Mahomed Amir, Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., Abdullah ibn Khan Bahadur Yusaf Ali, Mr. H. N. Haridas, Surgeon-General De Renzy, Surgeon Major Duka, Col. C. S. King, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Major Jennings, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. B. Sandeman, General Younghusband, C.S.I., Captn. A. C. Yate, Mr. Sydney Hastings, Mr. A. R. Hutchins, Mr. and Mrs. Dunderdale, Mr. Harold Spender, Mr. B. T. Ffinch, Surg.-Col. Duke.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in introducing the lecturer said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret that the unavoidable absence of one or two distinguished men has forced upon me the invidious duty of taking their place in the chair, but I rejoice at the good fortune of having amongst us some of the men who played a large and important part with Sir Robert Sandeman in the administration of the Biluch frontier; amongst others I am glad to see Colonel Reynolds, a very distinguished officer, Major Jennings and Colonel Duke, an intimate friend and subordinate of Sir Robert Sandeman. I will reserve my remarks until the close of Mr. Thornton's lecture, and merely beg to introduce to you Mr. Thornton, which I am sure is an unnecessary formality. Mr. Thornton speaks with thorough knowledge of his subject as he has been Secretary to the Government of the Punjab and Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

Mr. T. H. THORNTON then read the paper on "Sir Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy," which is printed in full elsewhere in this Review.

In the discussion that followed the reading of the paper, Major R. H. JENNINGS, R.E., made the following remarks: "The lecturer has ably dealt with Sir R. Sandeman's policy, the results of which have been the

creation of a loyal and contented Baluchistan out of anarchy; the firm establishment of British ascendancy along a lengthy frontier, as well as assured peace and safety—and consequently increased revenues—within the limits of British India inside that frontier. He, too, has told you the opinions held by many men of 'light and leading' of the present day regarding Sir R. Sandeman; I, hence, will confine myself to a few anecdotes indicating the indomitable perseverance of, and the unique position held by, the 'Great Personality' that has passed away.

I became Sir R. Sandeman's personal assistant and secretary in the autumn of 1879, and accompanied him and Sir R. Temple on most of their long tour on horseback from Sibi to Kandahar, viâ the Khojuk Pass, thence back to Sibi, viâ Thal Chotiali; whence I accompanied Sir R. Sandeman through the Mari country and Fort Munro to Dera Ghazi Khan. On three days in succession the length of each day's ride was 80 miles, and although Sir R. Sandeman suffered from fever on two of those days, he insisted on pushing on and would take no rest.

Day after day we rode as long as daylight lasted, and at night Sir R. Sandeman slept on the ground, sharing an 80 lb. Kabul tent with me. After leaving Sir R. Temple at Sibi, Sir R. Sandeman, as I said, rode through the Mari tribe without escort. It was a risky and daring performance, as the Mari Country, although not a 'terra incognita,' was closed to all outsiders—whether Englishmen or Pathans—and no other Englishman could at that time have accomplished the same feat. I well remember waking up one morning and hearing a loud discussion outside our small tent. On turning out, we found our horses had been carried off, and a parley was being held amongst the Mari chiefs as to whether we should be allowed to proceed or not. Sir R. Sandeman at once 'took the bull by the horns,' and, issuing from his tent in a rage, openly dared them to stop him. Eventually, they apologized, our horses were brought back, and we proceeded.

It was on that occasion that Sir R. Sandeman carried out the project he had been pressing Government for some time past to adopt—namely, the permanent occupation of Thal Chotiali. This plain is situated to the rear of the 'Mari' tribe—then the most predatory and turbulent of the Baluch tribes on our frontier; and Sir R. Sandeman saw that the only way to successfully coerce and overawe them was to establish a strong military post in their rear, and thus have them 'between two fires.'

He, hence, left his personal escort, consisting of 2 guns, 1 troop of cavalry, and 400 infantry, at Thal Chotiali, rode through the Mari country without escort, and, on arrival at Calcutta, not only succeeded in justifying his action with the Viceroy, but got Government to sanction the bold measure which he had carried out "off his own bat.' His dislike and disregard of 'red-tape' were proverbial; his absolute fearlessness of personal danger; his willingness to assume boldly the greatest responsibility when he deemed the interest of the State at stake; and the absence of all personal ambition are the traits which stamp him as a 'really great man.' Two short anecdotes and I have done.

I shall never forget once when he was talking to the Khan of Kelat 'like

a father,' and urging on H.H. what was due to his high position as Khan, etc., and when he said that he (Sir R. Sandeman) represented the British Government, the Khan suddenly put up his hand and stopped him and said: 'Cinnamon* Sahib, you call *me* "Khan of Kelat" and talk of the "British Government," but *you* are "Khan of Baluchistan," and *you* are the "British Government."' (Great applause.)

In 1884-1885, I went on a mission through Eastern Persia, and when many hundreds of miles to the West of Sir R. Sandeman's jurisdiction, and in parts far away from where he had ever been, I was on more than one occasion asked by the wild people of those regions (whose notions of the 'Ruling Power' were very vague) 'whether I was the servant of Cinnamon Sahib or of John Company Sahib' -they had never heard even of the British Government! (Applause.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is getting late, and I have said enough: so I can only concur with you and the lecturer that the death of this great man—this great and unique 'Frontier Personality'--was a national disaster."

COLONEL DR. DUKE then said:

"There is probably no one alive at the present moment who knew more of Sir Robert Sandeman than I did—there is probably no one who is more fully conscious of the great powers he possessed, of the sterling qualities which characterized him--who more fully understood his aims and objects—and perhaps the extent and direction of his ambitions. Sir Robert had a great many of the characteristics which belong to the mighty statesman who formed the inchoate congeries of German States into the great German empire. He in many ways resembled Prince Bismarck and if endowed with that great man's good qualities he was not without the faults which the Prince is admitted to possess-- and thus in his ambitious progress jars sometimes occurred which separated him for a time from his best friends. but, be this as it may, controversies will assuredly arise around many points in his career, controversies of which his name will be the centre and over which Mr. Thornton has skated with great skill in the paper which he has just read—and it is therefore the duty of those who were associated with him and who knew him to stand up and defend his actions from attack. On me is especially laid that duty. It happened to me to be many times associated with Sir Robert in times of sickness and difficulty, and when he was suffering from accidents, which, in at any rate one case, could not be wholly regarded as uncontrived by his Native opponents—but there was one particular occasion of which I wish to tell. Sir Robert was at Mastang awaiting the arrival of the Khan at that place—to begin the negotiations which resulted in the treaty of which Mr. Thornton has spoken—(1876). He grew very ill with fever and there came a day when Sandeman thought he might be going to die. As I sat by his bedside he said to me: 'Duke, you have been my friend; if I die, when I am gone, you must promise me that you will tell the world that in all I have done in this controversy—"Mokaddama" was the word he used—I have been actuated by disinterested motives and by a desire to do good for the Biluchis and the country.' I promised him that I would do so. Sir Robert

* The name Sir R. Sandeman was always known by in Baluchistan.

is now dead and by the merest accident (for I only heard of this meeting by chance) an opportunity has occurred which I most gladly embrace to fulfil my promise. Sir Robert alluded to the disputes between the Sindh and Punjab Governments which Mr. Thornton has mentioned. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have fulfilled the duty which I undertook on behalf of the man who was my friend—and perhaps you will allow me to turn for a few moments from these graver matters to the amusing side of Sir Robert's political character, and his career afforded very many instances of the sort of 'rollicking political,' you might have almost said 'schoolboy humour,' which characterized his dealings with the tribes and which so largely contributed to the affection with which they regarded him. I will illustrate this statement by one example. Mr. Thornton has alluded to the rigour with which the Sindh authorities carried out the policy of regarding the tribes as absolutely under the Khan and only to be dealt with through him. On one occasion there was a great consultation on Frontier affairs at Jacobabad and Captain Sandeman was there. The Murrees were camped outside and wanted to visit Sir W. Merewether, but he utterly declined to receive them until they had visited the Khan in Katchi and paid their respects to him. They demurred, did not go and there was a deadlock. Sandeman noted this and resolved to do something: perhaps he wished to do a good turn to Sir W. Merewether, perhaps he did not. He was never at a loss for means of finding out the reasons for the actions of the tribes and he discovered that the difficulty was a pecuniary one. The Murrees had no money Now a visit to the Khan would cost much; he would keep them waiting for several days and there would be great expense in connexion with supplies and other matters. Sandeman learnt that R. 700 would tide over the difficulty; so he sent a message to the Chief that if a confidential follower stole into his, Sandeman's, tent at night and put his hand under the pillow he would find something that would be of use to him. Sandeman has often told me with a quiet chuckle how he heard the tent-curtain lift and the heavy breathing of the Biluchi as he crept inside. Sandeman felt the bag of Rupees removed and then the Biluchi crept out of the tent as silently as he had entered. The Blue Book records that the Murris having paid their respects to the Khan returned to Jacobabad and were received by Sir W. Merewether—a triumph for the Sindh policy. You, ladies and gentlemen, now know the true facts of the case. Ladies and gentlemen, the Murris were very much against authority and in this they had the sympathy perhaps of Sir Robert Sandeman. He hated the Departments, but most of all he hated the Forest Department. Sandeman's great power lay in his capacity for looking at things from the Native point of view; he could put himself into their place and thus he thoroughly understood their difficulties and wants—he was able to command the complete confidence of his assistants: they fully believed in him and felt certain that, however great might be the difficulties, Sandeman's 'bakht' would pull them through: he was a great man and when the angry storm of controversy which has raged and will rage around his name has subsided, I believe it will come to be fully seen that to a statue on the walls of the splendid building in which the India Office is housed he is far more

entitled than are many of those whose memories are there enshrined in stone.

The following has been received from COLONEL E REYNOLDS, who was present at the meeting; but, owing to the lateness of the hour, was unable to stop:—

"I was well acquainted with the late Sir R. Sandeman, having served under him from the establishment of the Baluchistan Agency to within about a year of his death. I think therefore that the following incident, as illustrating his determination and perseverance in the face of difficulties, may be found interesting.

"In 1888 Jam Mir Khan, the ruler of Las Bela, died, and complications arose regarding the succession; it being also reported that the Darbar troops were prepared to offer resistance to British friendly intervention. Sandeman accordingly came down from Quetta, and taking me with him, started for Bela with the object of bringing about some settlement of affairs.

"When a few miles from Karachi the mare he was riding fell heavily. He was evidently much hurt, and not knowing what his injuries might be I begged him to return at once, as we were without proper medical aid. This he refused to do, and although so crippled that he could only re-mount with the utmost difficulty, he persisted in going on to his camp, a distance of some eighteen miles. Owing to the pain caused by his severe bruises and dislocated shoulder we were compelled to travel at the slowest foot pace, and did not arrive till late at night; but during this long and trying march he made no complaint, displaying throughout a patience and fortitude which were most remarkable.

"Two more marches brought us to Soumiani, and here he was compelled to halt. He however deputed me to proceed to Bela in his place, and, difficulties which at one time threatened to be serious being thus averted, the object of his journey was accomplished. It was not, unfortunately, till some days later that he was able to secure for his injuries the care and attention they so much needed; the delay was of course fatal, and from the results of this accident he never wholly recovered."

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in closing the proceedings, said:

"The hour is so far advanced that I will only say a few words in closing the proceedings and in expressing the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Thornton for his eloquent and able paper which has given us an admirable picture of a very distinguished officer of the Government whose name will live long on the frontier.

Lord Halsbury, who has been obliged to leave on account of his engagements, has further asked me to specially express his acknowledgments for the paper which has interested him exceedingly.

Sir Robert Sandeman I knew very well and during many years of his official life I was Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, having succeeded Mr. Thornton in that office in 1870. No one is consequently better acquainted with the character of his work, and his policy was generally and, whenever possible, supported energetically by the Punjab Government. It would be a mistake to imagine that Sandeman carried out any frontier policy which was in opposition to that of the local Government under which he directly served, although in some particulars his methods may not have commended themselves to the authorities.

The question of Frontier Policy is one on which there has always been, and probably always will be, great differences of opinion and I have no time to discuss here this important subject. I cannot however refrain from dissent from certain expressions of opinion of our accomplished lecturer especially on the point of the application of Sandeman's policy

which has proved so efficacious with Biluch tribes, to the independent Afghan tribes to the north. It does not follow that one system will suit all parts of the frontier and the characteristics of the Afghan and Biluch races very widely differ. The Biluchis have an aristocratic organization, giving obedience to their head-men through whom they can be directly influenced, while the republican system among the Afghans makes such control difficult or impossible. This point has been brought out by the lecturer with great clearness and I entirely agree with his remarks. So far as Sandeman's system was applied to Afghan tribes north of the Biluch line in Waziristan and elsewhere, I do not consider that sufficient time has elapsed to pronounce confidently as to its applicability. I do not think that these southern Afghans, as fighting races, compare in fanaticism and fighting qualities with the tribes in the north, where such distinguished administrators as Sir Donald McNabb, Sir Herbert Edwardes and others obtained favourable results it is true, but never obtained the tribal ascendancy which was possible with Biluchis whose head-men were under the control of the Government officers. But the question is a large one and those who desire to know my opinions must, I am afraid, take the trouble to read my article on the subject in the forthcoming number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

Two points connected with Sir Robert Sandeman I would notice, as they are too characteristic of the man to be omitted in any memorial of him. One is that he was heavily handicapped by his handwriting, which was, I believe, the worst and the most illegible of any that ever formed the despair of the Secretariats and, secondly, that his ascendancy over the Biluchis was gained without any knowledge whatever of their language. Sir Robert Sandeman had no linguistic facility and although he spoke Hindustani with some fluency, he never acquired any knowledge of Brahui or Pushtu and his conversation with the tribes was carried on either by the help of his Political Assistants, some of whom are here to-day and can testify to the correctness of my statement, or through those Chiefs who had mastered a little Hindustani. I do not mention these facts in depreciation of Sandeman, but to show how great was the inherent force and ability of the man, who could successfully triumph over unusual difficulties.

I would again express our acknowledgments to Mr. Thornton for his highly interesting and valuable paper."

The meeting then separated.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the East India Association was held at their offices in Victoria Street, on Monday morning, the 27th May, at 11.30.

Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., M.P., President of the Association, took the chair and the following, among others, were present. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., Surgeon Lt.-Col. Ince, M.D., Mr. Justice Pinhey, Dr. Leitner, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. C. W. Arathoon. The report and accounts, which had been circulated among all the members of the Association, were taken as read and were

adopted. It was proposed by Sir Lepel Griffin and seconded by Dr. Ince that the members of Council who retired by rotation, be re-elected. Carried unanimously. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE then addressed the meeting and said:—Gentlemen, I am very sorry that after the lapse of some 15 years, during which I have retained your confidence as President, I have now to ask you to accept my resignation and to elect my successor. I have no doubt your choice will fall upon someone who will perform the duties more worthily. (*No, No.*) I will now make a few remarks upon the situation in India and I will first allude to India in the House of Commons. (For full Report of the Address see the paper at the beginning of this Review.)

At the conclusion of Sir Richard Temple's address, the Chairman of Council, SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said:—Sir Richard Temple and Gentlemen, I dare say some of the gentlemen of the Council have a few words to address to the meeting as this is our annual meeting. The small number of members present makes no difference as what is said will be recorded by our shorthand writer and so will be read by many who are unable to be present to-day, but I would say one word in confirmation of Sir Richard Temple's views on India. I really cordially agree with every word he has said. I know some of us have to leave at once and I do not wish to slur over what is my principal duty, of expressing my great regret at the retirement of our honoured President and our great sense of gratitude for the way not only in which he has presided over this Association for so long but the high-minded and chivalrous manner in which he has defended in Parliament the interests with which we are associated. If there were 1000 people present I would still like to say that we all think as representing India, that India has never had in Parliament a more honourable spokesman than Sir Richard Temple and that is generally acknowledged by the House of Commons. I have a large number of acquaintances in the House and they have a very high opinion of the value of Sir Richard Temple's services and although when he spoke of the standard of Parliamentary honour I could not help smiling at what I thought an extravagant estimate of what is accustomed to be called Parliamentary chivalry, yet I can quite understand Sir Richard Temple taking that standard, as it is the standard he has held up to Englishmen himself.

I would not have ventured to speak in this manner unless I had been so intimately associated with his work here as President and I trust he will think we are sincere in thanking him for all he has done not only for the Association, but for India and I trust he may, when he has recovered his health again, serve in Parliament, for we cannot afford to lose him and the services of a man like Sir Richard Temple are invaluable.

This is all I desire to say and I hope he will honour us by taking up the position of Vice-president, which will entail no labour and we shall always remember his labours for us and in the House with gratitude and respect.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE then spoke as follows:—I should like to add one word to what Sir Lepel Griffin has said. As Sir Richard Temple's colleague in Parliament I beg to submit my earnest agreement with Sir Lepel Griffin, as to the value to the Empire at large and to India in

particular, of his services in Parliament. I agree with Sir Lepel Griffin, that his services are thoroughly appreciated on every bench in the House of Commons and in every corner of the British Empire. We do indeed sustain a great loss in losing him as our President. The Empire is suffering from Sir Richard Temple's, I trust only temporary, absence from the House of Commons. I, for one, consider and I only speak the sentiments of everyone acquainted with the subject, that it is of the utmost importance to have men of Sir Richard Temple's stamp in the House of Commons and I hope he will speedily return to the scene of his labours.

I entirely associate myself with the words of Sir Richard Temple as to the chivalrous character of Mr. Fowler's action with regard to the Cotton Duties; there was some probability of his party being turned out over that question, but they boldly maintained their ground. But I think some credit also is also due to Mr. Arthur Balfour and the Conservative party.

With regard to the Anti-opium resolution, I regretted that even so many as 59 should have voted for it, but you will all have observed that when this very question came before the House of Commons four years ago, when the Conservative Government was responsible for the conduct of affairs, ten of the present Ministers, including Mr. Asquith and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, voted for it. Every Government must oppose it and that somewhat discounts the chivalry of the present Government. For when four years ago, upon the shoulders of the Conservative Government was cast the task of opposing Sir Joseph Pease, ten members of the present Ministry voted for the resolution which a few days ago they opposed. Contrast this conduct with that of the Opposition a few days ago and it ought to be a lesson to Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. Asquith that they should adopt the same high principles when in Opposition as when they are in office and should emulate the example of Sir Richard Temple.

In reply, SIR RICHARD TEMPLE concluded the proceedings of the meeting with the following remarks:—"I thank you for the kind manner in which you have received me to-day, which is only in accordance with the way in which you have always received me. I shall still remain a Vice-president of the Association and, if out of Parliament, I may find time some day to give an address. The Chairman of the Council advises me that there is no other business before the meeting. You will take steps to elect my successor and I am sure that he will be some worthy person who will maintain the traditions of the Association."

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

CENTRAL ASIAN NEWS.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

$\frac{11}{23}$ May, 1895.

On the $\frac{11}{23}$ April, 1895, the name-day of H.I.M. the Empress of Russia, the waters of the Murghab were conducted to the sites of Old Merv, through the new irrigation channel constructed by the Russian Engineers employed in restoring the Sultan-Band irrigation system which formerly supplied Old Merv. Constructed by Sultan Sanjar in the Xth century, the destruction of the old Sultan-Band or Dam by the Bokharian Amir, Shah Murad, in the XIIIth century caused the ruin of Old Merv.

After annexing the Merv Oasis in 1884, Russia soon decided to restore the Sultan-Band irrigation system. In 1886, the late Emperor Alexander III. declared the site of Old Merv his private property and ordered the restoration of the Sultan-Band at his private cost, as it was not deemed advisable to charge the expense of this risky enterprise to the Exchequer. In October 1890, a new system of dams on the site of the Sultan-Band, constructed by M. Paklevski-Kozell was ready; but it failed to stand the pressure of the water, and it was eventually destroyed, on the $\frac{6th\ Oct.}{7th\ N.S.}$ 1890, by the Murghab having worked out a new channel in the soft yellow loam of its bed.

In 1891 the eminent Russian engineer, M. Andreieff, who had executed important irrigation works in Northern Russia, was invited to continue the restoration of the Sultan-band. His scheme, which implied the construction of a series of reservoirs along the Murghab for storing its surplus flood-waters while leaving unaltered the existing irrigation of the Yuletan and Merv oases, was approved of; and early in 1893 the work was begun on one of the projected series, the Hindoo-Kusht, near Yuletan. Early in 1895, all were completed. The spring flood waters of the Murghab were stored in them; and, as said above, on the 23 April, these works were proved a success by the water reaching the site of Old Merv through the new irrigation channel connecting the Hindoo-Kusht tanks with Bairam-Ali. This locality in the site of Old Merv has been made the headquarters of the "Murghab Imperial Property," as this domain of the Czar in Central Asia is officially called.

This event, of great importance in the Russian evolution of Central Asia, as the first step towards restoring its former cultivation, destroyed by wars and misrule, has hardly been noticed by even the Russian press, owing to the usual aversion of Russian officials to publicity, which is even more marked in the Office of the Imperial Domains.

The Amir of Bokhara has been permitted to spend another thermal season in the Caucasus and Crimea, as the use of the sulphurous baths and sea bathing have greatly relieved the rheumatism and gout from which he suffers. The Embassy sent by the Amir to Petersburg for the Imperial

wedding was favourably received, and it shortly returns to Bokhara with the Amir's eldest son and heir-apparent, who is completing a course of studies in the Nicolas Corps of Cadets and now goes to spend the summer with his father.

General Kuropatkine on his return from Persia, whither he had been sent as Envoy Extraordinary to announce to the Shah the advent to the Russian Imperial Throne of the Emperor Nicolas II., and where his reception was right royal, read a paper on the 13/25 April, in the palace of the Grand-Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich, on the "present state of Persia and the Embassy to Teheran in 1895." The Grand-Dukes Michael Nicolaievich, Paul Alexandrovich, Constantine Constantinovich, the sons of the Grand-Duke Michael Nicolaievich, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and many of the most distinguished military and civil authorities were present. He gave a sketch of the present boundaries of Persia, a political retrospect of its history with which Russia finds herself interwoven since 1723, and pointed to the long period, since 1828, of uninterrupted peace between Russia and Persia. He further pointed out that, by the pacification of Turkomania, Russia was instrumental in the rapid economical growth and development of Khurasan. This, with the 1500 miles of a common boundary, has created a very important and complicated community of both political and economical interests between Russia and Persia. He next briefly sketched the geographical, ethnographical and political conditions of Persia and dealt in detail with her commerce. His figures showed the progress of Russian commerce in Persia from 1840 to 1894, and demonstrated the rapid growth of Russo Persian commerce since the construction of the Transcaucasian and Transcaspian railway lines. He mentioned the obstacles to the development of commercial relations with Persia, such as the difficulty of recovering money for goods sold, which hampers credit,—the great cost of freights on the Caspian Sea,—the damage done to the goods by bad packing and transport,—and the custom difficulties experienced in Persia. The measures, proposed by him to obviate some of these obstacles are: (1) the immediate construction of the railway-line Tiflis-Erivan, which is already approved of, and its extension to Yulfa and Tabriz; (2) the construction of a cart-road from Enzeli to Kazvin, which will bridge over the present caravan-track from the Enzeli landing-stage to the Kazvin-Teheran cart-road: (3) the construction of a good haven in Enzeli; (4) the construction of a cart-road from Astara to Tabriz through Ardebil, and (5) the improvement of the cart-road between Meshed and Ashkabad, in Transcaspia.

THE LATE SHIAH PONTIFF.

In the latter part of last February all Persia and all the Shiah Muhammadans in India, Turkey, Egypt and elsewhere were in deep mourning in consequence of the death of the venerable Mirza Muhammad Hassan Shirazi, who had been their chief *Mujtahid* or Pontiff, for about twelve years. A *Mujtahid* is a dignitary of the clergy; and the chief *Mujtahid* is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Shiahs, and possesses supreme jurisdiction over all matters of religion. Mirza Muhammad Hassan

Shirazi, or, as he was usually spoken of, *Janâb Akâ* (His Excellency the Master), or, with full titles, *Hujjat-ul-Islâm*, *Nâib ul Imâm*, *Mujaddid ul Aḥkâm*, *Rais ul millat va ud dîn*, *Saiyid ul 'ulemâ* (Demonstrator of the Muhammadan religion, Deputy of the Imâm, Renewer of laws, Chief of the Faith, Lord of the clergy), Hâjjî Mirza Muḥammad Hassan Shirâzî, was born at Shiraz, 84 years ago. After a rudimentary education at a local school, he was sent to Isfahan to study under Mirza Saiyid Ḥassan Shamsâbâdi, a well-known professor at one of the Isfahan colleges. When about twenty years of age he went to Najaf and became a pupil of the Chief *Mujtahid* Shaikh Murteza al Anṣâri of Shushtar, who died in 1873. After Shaikh Murteza's death there were two men worthy of succeeding to the pontificate, one Mirza Muhammad Hassan Shirazi, the other Hâjji Saiyid Husain Turki; but both had the same influence, and it was difficult to decide who was the better man. The Shiahs of Azerbaijân and others of Turkish extraction were in favour of Hajji Saiyid Husain, while those of Fars and Isfahan were in favour of the other. In 1881, Hajji Saiyid Husain had a stroke of paralysis and Mirza Muhammad Hassan's influence then gained a preponderance which resulted in his becoming the recognized pontiff in 1882. Hajji Saiyid Husain died the following year. Soon after Shaikh Murteza's death some disputes arose as to which of the two candidates for the pontificate was to administer the funds sent from India? and Mirza Muhammad Hassan Shirazi, always of peaceful disposition, retired from Najaf and took up his residence at Samarah,* or, as the

* Sâmarah, or Samarra, situated on the left bank of the Tigris, about 70 miles above Baghdad, has been identified as the old Babylonian Sumir, and is no doubt the Castellum Sumere of Ammianus Marcellinus (25, 6) where the Roman army, under the newly elected Emperor Jovian, encamped on the 27 June, A.D. 363, the day following the fatal battle with the Persians which had cost the Emperor Julian his life. It became known as Surra-man-ra'â under the Abbaside Caliphs and this name is probably due to a pun on the part of the people of Baghdad. We gather from the histories of Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Athir, Tabari and others that Harun ur Rashid had commenced repairing the old city of Samarah, which people then called *Al Ḳaṭûl*, from its position on the *Ḳaṭûl ul Ḳesravi* (the Canal of the Cæsar), which further south is known as Nahrvan; and the Caliph Mutassim Billah completed the repairs and went to reside there with his troops in 837. Mutassim's body-guard consisted of a great number of Turks from Turkistan and Transoxania, rough soldiers who ill-treated the inhabitants of Baghdad; and the inhabitants, after a time, combined and killed some of them. Mutassim had only his Turkish mercenaries to depend upon; and fearing that they would leave him if he ordered them to remain at Baghdad, he removed with them to Samarah, which he had repaired for the purpose. The people of Baghdad, overjoyed at the presence of the Turks at Samarah, then called that place "Surra-man-ra'â," i.e., glad is he who sees (them there). Already under the Caliphs the place fell again into ruins, and only fifty years ago it was a small village inhabited by about 200 families, and completely unprotected against the attacks of the neighbouring Arab nomads. Samarah contains the tombs of the tenth and eleventh Imâms of the Shiahs (Ali Naḳi, b. 829, d. 868; Hassan al Askari, b. 846, d. 873) and also the cellar where the twelfth Imâm (Muhammad Sahib-uz-Zamân, b. 869) miraculously disappeared in 879, and which became, in consequence, a place of pilgrimage to which devout Shiahs flocked to the extent of many thousands *per annum*. On account of the totally unprotected state of the village innumerable pilgrims were despoiled of all they possessed by the Arab marauders of the neighbourhood, until, in 1843, the Persian Prince Hajji Mutamad-ed-dowleh had Samarah walled in at his own expense; and since then many Shiahs of note have permanently resided there. Outside of the new wall the ruins of the old city, comprising walls, palace of the Caliphs, a tower 163 feet in height, etc., are still to be seen, and the old Kaiser Canal still runs close to it on the East.

modern school likes to call it, Surra-man-ra'â; and there he died on the 21st February, 1895.

Mirza Muhammad Hassan's name was prominently brought before the public in connexion with the Tobacco Monopoly in Persia. For reasons, which it is out of the province of this notice to mention, the monopoly, started in 1891 by the Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia, Limited, under a concession obtained from the Shah the year before, was not favourably looked upon by the Persians; and the clergy, who opposed it vigorously, as early as the summer of 1891, stopped it altogether as far as the province of Azerbaijan was concerned. With the support of the Persian Government the Corporation continued its work at Teheran and other places; but in October, 1891, Mirza Muhammad Hassan laid an interdict on the use of tobacco, and the whole population of Persia at once abstained from smoking or using tobacco in any way. The use of tobacco is more prevalent in Persia than perhaps in any other country of the world; and the sudden deprivation of what was almost a necessity of life to the whole male and female population created great discontent and much bad feeling against the Government, which culminated in a riot at Teheran, on the 4th January, 1892. The riot was easily quelled, but it made the Government consider the advisability of annulling the concession. The concession was accordingly annulled and the monopoly abolished; the people resumed smoking tobacco; and, after some months of negotiations, the Persian Government agreed to pay to the Corporation an indemnity of half a million sterling, which the Imperial Bank of Persia undertook to provide by issuing a loan for that amount on the London market.

The late pontiff was a man of singular and almost unparalleled honesty and probity, and administered with the utmost honesty the funds which were entrusted to him for distribution among the poor and the indigent clergy, and for the maintenance of various shrines and religious establishments, amounting to over a million tumans per annum. For over twelve years he had held the sole and unquestioned disposal of amounts varying from £200,000 to £300,000 *per annum*, yet the value of all his property at the time of his death was under £3.

Of his private life little more is known than that it was entirely blameless and free from the vices of many other high dignitaries of the clergy. By conviction always a staunch upholder of his faith, he never swerved. His word was law. Even his enemies can cite only one instance of his forgetting himself and then he made ample amends. This was when, on a very hot day, he entered a room, where a prayer meeting was to be held, and expressed the opinion that it was very hot. This expression, as criticising God's work, was considered *Kufr*, blasphemy, and the eight or nine persons present left the room; but the pontiff immediately after publicly repented and vowed not to sin again.

He was very learned; and, although not an author of any works, has left his name in many learned works written by his pupils.

It will take a long time before Mirza Muhammad Hassan's successor is appointed. There are seven or eight candidates; but some years must

elapse until it be known who can worthily replace him. Each of the candidates is in the meantime striving to gain influence and trying to prove, by righteousness, honesty, probity, etc., that he is the best man. Public opinion will finally decide, but in a case like this the public takes a long time to come to a decision.

A. H. S.

The retirement of the Raja of Bhinga, following on the self-cremation of his son in consequence of the loss of a beloved wife, has deprived Conservative India of a very able and influential exponent in the Press and in official quarters. Many will remember the aid which his ready pen often gave to Government measures in order to render them popular among the Classes and Masses of India, which he, undoubtedly, represented. He was, above all, in opposition to "young India," that "microscopic minority" to which Lord Dufferin alluded, but to whose growing influence even Parliament has, on, at least, two occasions, been obliged to bow. As the Government, whatever the leanings of its experienced officials, is ever moved by agitators and is itself apt to try experiments, the time cannot be far distant when Conservative India will abandon its passive attitude and, despairing of Government support in spite of its loyalty, will link its fortunes to the "new" school, which, if wise enough to abandon its ostentatious mimicry of European manners will, thereby, immensely gain in wealth and influence. In the meanwhile, the career of the Raja of Bhinga has been generously acknowledged by his opponents as that of a true patriot. The young Muhammadans especially to whose efforts to make the Sultan of Turkey the first Sovereign of their co-religionists in India, the Queen only being the second, he so pointedly referred in the *Nineteenth Century*, will also acknowledge that in their zeal for the Khalifa by the *concensus fidelium* of the Sunni community, they have overstepped the bounds of prudence and have seriously injured a cause, which advocated within its legitimate limits, has ever had our support.

THEOSOPHY AND DR. PFUNGST.

In the last number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" (page 472) Mr. J. Edge rejects the view that "Theosophy" must necessarily be dependent on Buddhistic or other religious texts, but he clearly states that for him: "the Theosophical Society has always been a movement for the study of occultism, magic, symbolism, the esoteric meaning of sacred scriptures, and kindred subjects."

If this statement is accepted by the Theosophical Societies and their literary exponents, then, certainly, Oriental science need no further occupy itself with the Theosophical movement.'

At the same time, Science has also no 'grounds for being indebted to Theosophists for having induced many people to occupy themselves with the translation of sacred Eastern books. Those students, moreover, who study these texts imbued with Theosophical ideas are, to begin with, already lost to Science, and are as little able to further its progress as one who reads chemical books in order to collect material for alchymistic

experiments, or as an astrologer who studies the celestial charts in order to get new views for his horoscope.

If the Theosophists—as Mr. Edge says—only differ from the scientific Orientalist in so far as they interpret the texts differently ("We differ from you in the interpretation of these books"), then they will not find many followers, as the modern thinker requires *irrefragable proofs*, if he is to believe in the truth of an assertion and he is more accustomed to look for such truth to men who have gained his confidence by their scientific labours. Besides, it will never be difficult for scientific inquirers to refute the more or less phantastic interpretations of passages in the sacred writings, as they can dispose of historical and linguistic material, which, as a rule, shows things in a very different light from Theosophical imaginings.

To come back to the theme of my paper read at the Geneva Congress, I may mention that the Theosophists held that Buddha had also an "*esoteric*" teaching- whilst in a series of authoritative passages in the sacred texts it is expressly stated that he most decidedly rejected every esoteric teaching.

As the Theosophists now anyhow give up the uneven struggle with scientific inquirers, there is no purpose to spin out this question any further. The defeat of the Neo-Mysticism, announced by Mr. Edge, we can quietly leave to time.

DR. A. PFUNGST.

It is not improbable that England will find herself alone in the Armenian question, for Russia and France are determined to become the protectors of the Muhammadan world. All over Northern Africa, Arabic papers of standing advocate a Franco-Muhammadan or a Russo-Franco-Muhammadan alliance. The mantle once on the shoulders of England is falling on the Gaul and Moscovite. The proximity of England to Jeddah is frightening the Arab tribes regarding the security of the holy places, Mecca and Medina, and the understanding arrived at as regards Muhammadans between the two Allies appears to be that France shall help Russia in her attempts on China and India and that Russia, in return, shall aid France to build up a Franco-Muhammadan Empire in Africa, of the progress of which we hope to give some particulars in our next issue.

GENERAL SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN ON THE FRONTIER POLICY.

WE have much pleasure in reproducing, by permission, extracts from letters addressed to us by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, whose long and eminent services on the Trans-Indus Frontier and whose intimate knowledge of the tribes upon our border render him an unquestioned authority. Fortunate would be this country and India were attention to be paid to the mature and far-sighted advice that, from his retirement, he has tendered in the columns of the "Times" of the 12th and 23rd April and 10th June and in those of "The Saturday Review" of the 18th May and 8th June.

The extracts are from letters that were not meant for publication, but

they seem to strengthen those that have been published, whilst throwing further light on the whole situation, not only in Swat, Chitrál, Hunza-Nagyr and adjoining countries, but also as regards the relations between Russia and England in Asia.

". . . I thank you for sending me the *Morning Post* of the 18th April, containing your letter and a useful map. . . .

"I gather that your opinions and mine are mainly in accord—though I go further than you do as to the necessity of abstaining from all interference in the affairs of the tribesmen not absolutely under the control of the Government of India. I can see no half-way between complete independence and complete dependence. All the Native States in India, with the exception of Nipal, come, in my estimation, under the latter category. I believe it to be simply impossible to draw any half-way line; however firm may have been the original intention of only going so far and no further. Once allow a hand to be drawn into the machinery of Native Administration, and sooner or later the whole body must follow. To swallow up a Native State is a simple matter—but then the future as well as the present should be thought of. Lord Dalhousie in his last State-paper on quitting the viceroyalty in the spring of 1857, reminded us that, in our position in India, "the small white 'cloud' was ever there," and sure enough it burst upon us almost immediately in the shape of the Mutiny.

". . . The position of Russia in respect to India being the crux of the whole question as to OUR measures for frontier defence, it occurs to me to ask you whether any steps have been taken to ascertain and make known the views and opinions that find expression in Russian periodicals and journals and are, therefore, accessible to the public, including Russian opinion on what is published in English books and papers, civil and military. . . .

". . . Your printed papers on the subject of Gilgit, etc., are full of interesting information which is entirely new to me; for from the time I ceased to be the Military Member of the Viceroy's (Lord Lytton) Council, I have had no opportunity of learning from official sources anything as to what was passing in the North-West frontier. I may add that since I unbuckled my sword in 1881, I have lived a quiet country life, only able to gather what I could of public events from the newspapers.

"It is this short-sighted and dangerous policy of the 'progressists' that has drawn me into writing to the *Times*, and I have only done so under a sense of public duty. I can imagine nothing more unsound than the notion that because we now possess repeating breech-loaders and rifled cannon, therefore the successful frontier policy of former years is to be counted as foolishness, and the Independent Tribesmen trampled under foot, and their legitmate aspirations mocked at with impunity! . . .

"As to your printed communication on the subject of Chitral and neighbouring glens—except through your writings I have no means of becoming acquainted with the course of events which led to our most unfortunate interposition in the affairs of those localities. . . ."

"From the Telegrams and Correspondent's letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 25th May, I was glad to see that the truth of all I have said is now becoming apparent to those on the spot—and a pretty bill there will be to pay before the last Rupee is expended in trying to build up a system of frontier defence devoid of stability—whilst, unfortunately, tending all the while to bleed to death the resources of India. . . .

"In the *Saturday Review* of the 9th June is a signed article by Sir Lepel Griffin—which together with his article in this month's number of the *Nineteenth Century*, makes his position in regard to the Chitral question quite clear—and his opinion is, or ought to be, a valuable support to our side of the argument. . . .

"You are at liberty to name me as the writer of the following anonymous letter from a contemporary in the 'Asiatic Review,' if you consider that doing so will give strength to the statements I have made. I believe I have said nothing but the truth—and the truth ought to be known. It is the want of knowledge and the suppression of a part of the truth that has led us into past and present frontier difficulties.

"'The original occupation of Chitral has led us in my opinion into a series of political blunders, and into what Mr. Gladstone once termed "blood-guiltiness." The independent tribesmen beyond the Peshawur borders are not our subjects. We have never claimed the right to rule over them, and we and they were at peace. We are the aggressors, they gave us no provocation, and the Government occupies an entirely false and unjustifiable position in those valleys. The tribesmen must suffer the more bravely they defend themselves. The weak must and will go to the wall as far as the present is concerned. Whilst the loss of life on our side is lamentable: and the loss we inflict is almost criminal. Yet with all these considerations beyond dispute, and the desirability of cultivating amicable relations with Afghanistan and the tribesmen beyond our borders, admitted by everybody, we do all we can to incur their hatred. In a lecture delivered by Mr. Curzon he tells us how hostile the tribes of Afghanistan are still to the English nation, because of the thousands of their countrymen and co-religionists killed by us during the two Afghan wars.'

"If there is one thing in my career that I may be permitted to look back to with satisfaction it is to my strenuous opposition to the retention of Candahar after the war ended in 1881, and this in disagreement with the views held by a large party in India and in England. I urged that Candahar be given up to remain an integral part of Afghanistan. Had this policy not been carried out by the Government and Parliament of the day, our relations with the Amir could never have been really friendly and cordial. "N. C."

General Lord Chelmsford being asked his opinion upon our present Frontier policy, justly enquires: "Is there one? I much doubt it."

General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B., writes:

"When England undertakes a war it may be assumed that mere revenge is not the only reason for it, but that the Indian Government have decided what is the objective from a military and political point of view and have counted the cost of carrying the war to its conclusion and of fulfilling such duties as devolve upon Government in consequence of their action. In the case of an expedition into the inhospitable regions beyond the Northern frontier of India it is especially necessary to fulfil the original project, for retreat is difficult and costly; hostile tribes near the line of communication are rendered more hostile by losses incurred during hostilities and tribes that have been friendly are subject to persecution or extinction after the retreat of the British force, and the results of such expeditions, followed by retirement, are seldom commensurate with the cost. If Government has deliberately decided that in the interests of the Indian Empire it is necessary to hold Chitrál and to construct a road from Nowshera to Chitral nothing should deter them from carrying out their project. India has military and political officers and engineers who will quickly accomplish the task."

DR. T. H. THORNTON'S LECTURE ON SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN AND THE INDIAN FRONTIER POLICY.

OPINION OF GENERAL SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNE:

"I listened to Mr. Thornton's admirable paper on 'Sir Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy,' with great pleasure and interest; and I was only prevented from joining in the subsequent discussion by an obligation to leave early in order to fulfil an important official engagement at the India Office.

"As to Sandeman himself, I may say that he and I were great personal friends from the time that we campaigned together in the Mutiny; and I am glad to look back to the privilege of having been able to do him good service in later years, during the time that I was in responsible official positions in India, and at the India Office, after the mutiny onwards. I was specially glad to be able as Political Secretary to assist him, almost single-handed, in the retention of the assigned Districts and the completion of the railway, through the Harnai to Pishin, as mentioned in a part of Mr. Thornton's paper.

"Sandeman's remarkable character is aptly summed up by Mr. Thornton as one 'with human faults and imperfections, but with a marked predominance of all that is brave and good and lovable.' He died an unrewarded man, as things go; but he had the more solid consolation in his later career of looking back on an active life spent in patriotic objects, and more especially in the promotion on the Western Frontier of India of a policy of peace by bold action, and in an extraordinary influence over wild border tribes which was unique. Of this influence I was often a witness, at a time when it was worth many millions to us. On the matter of policy, I have, without hesitation or demur, advocated during my own humble official career, and entirely concur with, the views which are quoted in the latter part of Mr. Thornton's paper, taken from Sandeman's latest official memorandum of 1890."

OPINION OF SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST.

"The extraordinary insight into character with which Sir Robert Sandeman was endowed, his sound sense, his strong will, his knowledge of the traditions, customs and trains of thought of Orientals, his singular personal influence, his determination to serve his country and to improve the relations with and conditions of neighbouring States enabled him to work wonders on the North West Frontier of India.

Sandeman when a frontier officer set himself to gain information political, geographical and personal regarding the Tribes and their rulers beyond the Frontier; he deliberated on the situation, proved himself worthy of the confidence of Government and, when the opportunity arrived, he was able to carry out measures peacefully and without bloodshed, that could hardly have been effected by any other man.

Sandeman gradually extended friendly British control over frontier tribes

and thereby increased the area of the Indian Empire, the strength of the Indian Empire and the sphere of influence of the Government of India. A policy of conciliatory intervention was successful in Baluchistan. A singularly strong man was given a remarkably free hand to deal with tribes whom he thoroughly understood; he was heartily backed by the Government of India and the result proved that successive Governors General did well in selecting Sandeman for the duty and in supporting him in his splendid career. The chief methods that he employed were (1st) a system of regularly paying tribes working under their own chiefs for military, police and other services and (2nd) a system of obviating and settling quarrels and administering justice by means of Jirgahs or Committees of tribal Chiefs, but it seems to me that they were only means to carry out the policy of "creating a community of interests and showing the tribes that their cause is one with our own, in view to mutual support and defence."

A somewhat similar policy has been adopted by the Government of India who, by encouraging the embodiment of the Imperial Service Troops, have not only relieved the Princes of India in subsidiary alliances with Her Majesty from the danger and expense of maintaining great undisciplined armies, but have enabled those Rulers to feel that they have a substantial interest and stake in the stability of the British Empire.

It was Sandeman's personality that enabled him to institute tribal service and it was the fear the Chiefs had of Sandeman and their confidence in him which enabled Sandeman to work successfully through the Jirgahs. A weak political officer could not have introduced or depended on either system.

Although the principles of strategy are unchangeable, Napoleon thought it wise to change the system of tactics every ten years; so in frontier affairs, it seems wise to adapt the method of carrying out a wise policy to the circumstances of the tribes to be dealt with. If tribal service and arbitration by Jirgahs in any case seemed likely to be unsuccessful, Sandeman would doubtless have found other means to create a community of interests and a reason, which frontier tribes would acknowledge to be valid, why they should link their fortunes with the British."

COLONEL MALLESON favours us with the following valuable information: "From my personal acquaintance with Sandeman I may state that I consider the present 'Forward Policy' the direc outcome of his policy—I mean the logical consequence of his policy as explained to me many years ago by himself:- and that I consider it the proper policy."

"With most that Dr. Thornton so eloquently said as to the personal characteristics and public services of Sir Robert Sandeman, I find it a pleasure to agree. I had met, and heard much of, that gallant officer in 1875 at Bombay and Dr. Thornton's admirable eulogy filled in the portrait already outlined in my mind. Our acknowledgment, however, of Sandeman's qualities and the pathetic regrets expressed at the Lecture by his devoted personal friends that his career was cut off in its midst must not

blind us to the events in which Sandeman played a large, though only ministerial, part, so far as these events were the precursors of a change in our Trans-Frontier policy, which Dr. Thornton justly described as "revolutionary." No delineation of Sandeman's character and career, however attractive, can be an apology for the violent new departure entered on in 1876 by the Government of India. It superseded the wise and conservative course till then followed during a succession of Viceroyalties, with only one deviation (that of Lytton) from Canning to Northbrook and it has landed India in the present political entanglement and financial embarrassment of which no man can foretell the issue.

This "revolution" has wrecked the former stable condition of a self-supported self-contained dependency. Surely, Dr. Thornton does not contemplate this disastrous result with equanimity. The destinies of our Indian Empire have been shaped not so much by foresight, or by well-considered principles, as by the influence of strong personalities on one hand and of sinister machinations on the other, which have overborne many of our wisest Anglo-Indian statesman as if by a malign fate. In that rapid, retrograde evolution since 1876, Sandeman was probably an unconscious, though peculiarly effective, factor. In his masterly monograph, Dr. Thornton has told us the story from the Panjab standpoint. Let me supplement it by a few notes from that of the Bombay and Supreme Governments. There are, at any rate, a few missing links in his statement regarding the difficulties and contentions that arose in Sind-Frontier management in 1874-75 which he might not so well know from the Panjabi side as I from that of Bombay. Here again the "personal factor" was the energetic but self-willed Colonel (now Sir Robert Phayre) a fixture in the Bombay Quarter Master General's Department. The time came, when he had to be provided for, on the sacred principle of promotion, for masterful men of adequate emoluments and though he had no experience whatever of political service, he was pitchforked as disastrously into Sind politics, as he was subsequently, on the same principle of "emoluments" into the position of Resident at Baroda. On the Sind-Frontier Phayre found, as his immediate superior, the late Sir William Merewether, then Commissioner of Sind, one of Jacob's aptest Lieutenants and well versed in dealing with the Khan of Khelát, the Beluch chiefs, the Bugties the Murries etc.* Of course, the new Frontier Superintendence, amateur experiments, soon brought him into collision with the tribes and with the Commissioner. Sir Philip Woodhouse, Governor of Bombay, was unable to hold an even balance between the two or three masterful men in Sind and their irreconcilable difficulties had to be dealt with mainly by the judicial and political member of Council, who would be conventionally inclined to support the new-fledged political. The Supreme Government sent Mr. Allan-Hume to smooth things down, but without avail. So Sandeman's attention was gradually drawn to the excitement among the

* See Journal of the East India Association 1880 for a paper by Colonel (now Sir James Brown) on the retention of Kandahar and the defence of the N.W. Frontier which throws light on the topography of the Panjab and Sind Trans-Frontier regions and has a map of the routes and of several of the tribes that Sandeman was concerned with.

Murries and other Beluch tribes near his own Panjab ranges and the Panjab Government would be nothing loth to respond to the temptation of extending their own influence and finding openings for their own aspiring officers. They found a ready backer in the Viceroy's powerful Private Secretary Major Baring—since ennobled. It was thus that the Panjabis "came down like a wolf on the (Sind) fold." The Bombay Government's hand was forced, and Sandeman became in effect paramount Warden of the Marshes hitherto under Bombay and Sind. The old order changed. The Khan of Kelat has since been virtually superseded and the official Maps now show a large tract, beyond the Indian border, marked as "British Beluchistan." Then came the Afghan war, the Hunza-Nagyr and Chilás campaigns and now the Chitrál expedition, devastating the countries of the Hindukush up to the foot of the Pamirs. What will be left of this wreckage of tribal federations, principalities and states, no man knoweth. This mighty convulsion has been mainly directed by the British Cabinets of the period and no one can calmly follow these "revolutionary" transactions, which are shaking our Indian Empire to its foundations, without seeing that Sandeman's part was only mediate and incidental. The statesman has yet to arise who can control the storm that has ensued.

ANGLO INDIAN."

We have just received from Mr. John Murray the *magnum opus* on "Sir Robert Sandeman" which Dr. T. H. Thornton has been compiling out of the abundance of his own knowledge of the man and his policy as also from the great material placed at his disposal. We propose to review this important work in our next issue. In the meanwhile, we cannot draw too prominent attention to the Lecture on "Sir Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy" which the scholarly author delivered before the *East India Association* and which is published in this issue. We are convinced that not only the brother officers of Sir Robert Sandeman, but also all who are interested in the history of our Indian Frontier Policy and its present development, will find that this Lecture is as full of information as it is admirably written.

In the lecture, which is, of course, amplified in the book, Mr. Thornton first takes a brief survey of the leading features of the N. W. Frontier of India and the policy pursued towards the tribes inhabiting it, up to Sandeman's arrival on the scene,—a survey in which full justice is done to the splendid results of Lawrence's rule, in spite of his "close-border" system; he then describes the great work Sandeman did upon the frontier and the revolutions he effected in the attitude of the Government of India towards the frontier tribes; the lecturer then deals with the personal character of his hero and the secret of his success, and lastly with the result of the policy he inaugurated. In regard to the latter there is room for difference of opinion, but all will agree that Sir R. Sandeman was a "great personality," whose long and active work on a remote, but important, frontier is richly deserving of the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen.

The quotations from Sandeman's last Memorandum on the treatment of frontier policy—with which Mr. Thornton concludes his lecture—will be read with special interest at the present time.

We regret to learn that the Heir apparent to the Persian throne, Muzaffer-ed-din-Mirza, who is suffering from Bright's disease, is unable, for various reasons, to leave Persia, and so cannot carry out the recommendation of his medical adviser, Dr. Adcock, to take a course of mineral waters in Europe, which would doubtless both alleviate his sufferings and prolong his life. He is just over 45 years of age, having been born on the 25th March, 1853. His eldest son and heir is Muhammad Ali Mirza, Itezad-es-Sultaneh, born in 1872 and married, in 1893, to Malikeh Jehan Khanum, a daughter of his Uncle, Naib-es-Sultaneh, the present Minister for War and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

TIBETAN LAMAISM.

Dr. Waddell's book on Tibetan Lamarism is most interesting. The isolation theory must soon be abandoned by all. In Tibet, a combined influence has been exercised by Buddhism, Hindus and Persians, and though Dr. Waddell at first denied that the last had a share, as I asserted, in the *Mahayana* mythology, he now admits the mutual influence of religions one on another. This holds good both in religion and in knowledge; nor do I see that there is any force in objecting to my views, as the February New York Critic does, that they are not endorsed by Professors Max Müller and Legge. Statements must stand or fall by arguments and reasons, and not by patronage. J. EDKINS.

THE QUEEN OF COREA ON THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—Mrs. Bishop, the traveller, had long and interesting interviews with the King and Queen of Corea. The Queen has a charming manner, but, like so many persons in the higher classes in that country, scruples not, it is said, to make use of poison or assassination to remove enemies. She has an attractive way of speaking. She said, "ask your Queen if she ever thinks of poor Corea. She has age, good health, very many children, and grandchildren. I admire her and would like to know if she ever thinks of us." Two Methodist Christian converts who have received their education in America are recent additions to the Cabinet.

COREAN REVENUE.—This consists at present of $4,468,587 including $3,000,000 borrowed from Japan. Taxes $1,468,587. The expenditure is $3,804,910 including King's Civil List $384,615. Other outlays $420,295.

CHINESE LOANS.—In the turmoil of last year China's policy was to bring troops from every province to meet Japanese invasion. The Peking

Cabinet believed that by successive armies coming fresh to the field Japan might be conquered and glory accrue to China. Money was required and the Board of Revenue received permission to raise it by native loans. The amounts raised were Canton Taels 5,000,000, Shansi Tls. 1,300,000, Chili Tls. 1,000,000, Shensi Tls. 380,000, Kiang su Tls. 1,810,000, Kiang si Tls. 230,000, Hupei Tls. 140,000, Szchwen Tls. 140,000, Peking Tls. 1,000,000. In all, more than ten million taels were raised. The Board is now convinced that this is a wrong policy. This is what a memorial of April 1895 says and the reason given is that China's gain is in receiving money from abroad, but that, in fact, she sends away more than she receives. There is an allusion here to opium and cotton piece goods. By buying foreign articles China loses the power to find money easily herself. The Board advises the Emperor to return to foreign loans. To this the imperial assent was given April 28th.

As late as September, 1894, the probability that the Japanese would be defeated by force of Chinese numbers seemed to be great. But, all through, the timidity of the Military and Naval forces of China has been conspicuous, though individuals have shown examples of bravery. The Chinese have avoided battles instead of seeking them, and this has been true both by land and sea. The Japanese have been careful to be superior in numbers at the critical points by converging two or more armies on the locality where they intended to make a great effort. By such action at Ping-yang they drove the Chinese out of Korea; and there the bravery of the Muhammadan general Tso, who fell in that battle, was neutralized by the cold indifference of the other officers who made no efficient use of their forces. By giving the order to retreat they made the results of the capture of Ping-yang far greater than they would have been had they fought manfully. The strategy of the Japanese generals was too much for them: they left the Chinese a road to retreat by, and they retreated by that road.

The ensuing winter was unusually severe, and this helped to prolong the war. Both the great events which have since happened the captures of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei took place in extremely cold weather, which, though it did not prevent these successes, at least prevented the advance of the Japanese armies to capture the cities of Moukden and Liao-yang. The mountain chains here presented great difficulties. The numerically large armies of China rendered the employment of large forces necessary also on the part of the invaders; and Japan preferred destroying the fleet at Wei-hai-wei to strengthening her army in the north for the capture of Moukden. It was the loss of her fleet at Wei-hai-wei that decided China to sue for peace.

FORMOSA.—An educated people does not approve of being given away to form part of another kingdom until they have been asked if they are willing and have consented. In Formosa, the Chinese population is most

uneasy. It is said that they are becoming inclined for independence. The gentry cannot disobey the emperor. The insurgents, therefore, if they will not be subject to Japan are compelled to drill, organize, and fight, on an independent footing. This it is said they are doing. Probably the Japanese will overcome this discontent by finding occupation for thousands of labourers in public works. We shall see.

A Committee, with power to add other specialists to their number, consisting of Dr. Leitner, Dr. Rost, and Mr. J. Collancz, has been formed at a meeting recently held in the Guildhall Library, for the purpose of reporting on the value of the various philological and other specialities represented in the vast Library of the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte with the view of the consideration as to whether, and on what terms, its acquisition for the nation, by public subscription or otherwise, might be recommended. In any case, we think that it would be a pity to disperse, by auction or partial sale, a Library which, in its integrity alone, is representative of the history and development of a science. in all, even its most remote, branches, to which the late veteran Philologist and Prince devoted the labours of a long life.

At a recent meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Prof. Sayce in the Chair, a number of important proposals by Professor G. Bühler were read regarding the continuance and proper application of the Indian Government Grant to the Archæological Survey of India, now threatened by still further reduction, if not abolition. It was unanimously felt that the Government could not, whatever other claims there might be on it, withdraw from a support to an undertaking which gained it the sympathy of the learned world at so inadequate a cost as £5,000 per annum. A Civilian present thought that all efforts should be left to the Department, but he forgot that the greatest archæological triumphs in India have been achieved by private explorers and that, unless the Department is in touch with all officials, European or native, and others interested in antiquarian enquiries, and, unless its already too small grant is increased tenfold, the co-operation of all, willing to assist, is indispensable.

INTERFERENCE WITH NATIVE STATES.

The question of how far we are justified in interfering with the internal administration of Native States is one about which there are various opinions. Some say that we should leave them severely alone, and allow them, so to speak, to stew in their own juice; others again say that the British Government should interfere in all cases of injustice; that the Resident at the Capital of an independent State should be the ultimate court of appeal; and that our responsibility for good government and justice is not merely confined to British India, but extends also to our protected and feudatory States. There is a good deal to be said for the latter argument; for it must be always borne in mind that since the intro-

duction of the "Pax Britannica" we have taken away from the people the only and time honoured remedy of oriental nations against a despotic and oppressive government, *i.e.*, revolt and assassination. We act as the Police of India to keep the peace throughout the land, and this protection is of considerably greater benefit to the independent Princes than it is to the peoples under their sway. The result is that injustice is often committed and oppression is practised, against which the people have no remedy; because while we prevent them from indulging in any outburst of indignation we refuse to interfere in matters which concern the internal administration of an independent State. This word "independent" is a very misleading one. The condition of affairs at the end of this nineteenth century is very different from what it was at the commencement. A hundred years ago, the different native States were either our enemies or our allies. In the course of time the former have been conquered and the latter have fallen into the second rank of subordinate States. No one will for a moment pretend that in the case of a question of Imperial policy affecting the whole country, we should be justified in yielding to the wishes of one or more States merely because they claimed to be independent. In such a case their protests would not be regarded, and they would be compelled to conform with the Imperial policy, treaties and agreements notwithstanding. When the Queen became Empress of India, the whole condition of the relations between the Imperial Government and the Native States became changed. This being so, if we refuse to recognise the independence of the vassal States in a matter of Imperial policy, are we justified in refusing to interfere in matters of public Justice and good government in which the interests of the millions under their charge are concerned? The different States may have their own laws and customs and their own system of revenue, taxation and administration. These are all more or less founded upon civilized bases, and the people who reside in such States do so with their eyes open,—a remark especially applicable to strangers who of their own accord take up their domicile in such countries. But it is the administration and execution of those laws with which we have to do; for it depends upon the manner in which they are administered whether justice is done or injustice is committed.

The Queen-Empress being the over-lord of the States, I maintain that the subjects of a Native ruler have as much right to expect redress for injustice from the hands of her representatives as have her immediate subjects. But as long as we refuse to interfere in matters of internal administration, they are not always sure of receiving that justice, and are debarred from appealing to the British representative. The British Resident at a Native Court should be something more than passive. He should be the Guide, as well as the Philosopher and the Friend. As far as the States themselves are concerned, the policy I advocate is the kindest in the end. The stewing-in-their-own-juice policy, is calculated to lead, in the long run, to maladministration, which compels an interference of a far more active kind, if not actual annexation. In many of the minor States, such as some in Rajputana, this is what is practically done; but in

the larger States this is not the case, and the outcry of "interference with an independent State" is apt to be raised, whenever the Resident endeavours to advise it for its own good. This outcry generally proceeds not so much from the Princes themselves as from their officials, who, for the most part, have been borrowed from the British Service, or who have immigrated from British Provinces. I by no means advocate a nagging and petty interference in matters of detail; but where the carrying out of the laws, or where justice is concerned, the subjects of a native State have, I maintain, as much a right to look to the representative of the Imperial Government for protection against misrule and oppression, as the Princes themselves are entitled to our protection from rebellion and anarchy.

EX-POLITICAL.

We deeply regret to hear of the death of Colonel Lewis Conway-Gordon, C.I.E., who was drowned in the collision of the steamship "Penzance" with the yacht "Scotia" on the 25th June, 1895. He was born in 1838. His Indian career is so full that we must reserve his obituary to our next issue.

We are compelled, for want of space, to omit in this issue, the following important papers, among others:

The Rev. Prof. C. W. Skarstedt, D.D.: "Phœnician Colonization in Scandinavia."

Pandit H. H. Dhruva: "The Bharata Natya Shastra (Indian Dramatics)."

Dr. E. Schneider: "Discovery of Pelasgic Inscriptions" and review thereof by Baron Herbert de Reuter.

Also the following interesting letters, among others:

"Dwarfs in the Pyrenees and the Atlas," by R. G. Haliburton, Q.C.; "Dwarf Races," by D. MacRitchie.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

1. *Lives of Indian Officers*, 3 vols.; 1895. We are glad to see a third edition of this excellent work, which is, however, neither so well-known nor so much studied as it deserves. A detailed review would much exceed the space allotted us, considering the many books sent us during this quarter; but even a mere list of the lives embraced in it will show the nature of the work and the deep and important lessons to be learned from its pages, by those especially who either contemplate or are engaged in an Indian career. The first two volumes are by Sir J. W. Kaye, the last by T. R. E. Holmes—each biography and each volume being complete in itself. The versatile Lord Cornwallis twice Governor General of India, the diplomatic and cheery Sir John Malcolm, the soldier-civilian Mountstuart Elphinstone, the epicene Rev. H. Martyn and the great-minded Sir C. afterwards Lord Metcalfe fill the first volume; the light and loquacious Sir Alexander Burnes, the adventurous and ill-fated Arthur Connolly, the indomitable Eldred Pottinger, the unfortunate D'Arcy Todd and the noble Sir Henry Lawrence make up the second; and the third gives us the quaint yet grand figure of Sir Charles Napier, the biography (a little out of place among Indian worthies) of his soldier-historian brother Sir William Napier, the dashing but dark Hodson, and the exemplary Sir Herbert Edwardes. The biographies are clear, full and well written, though occasionally some are needlessly diffuse. Controverted points are clearly and plainly stated and several questions, both of historical facts and personal character and acts, are definitely solved. As instances we may note the exposition of Sir C. Napier's action in Scindh, the unveiling of the real and by no means worthy character of Hodson in whom one wonders as much at his daring bravery and military talent as at his contriving somehow to serve on till death in a service which seldom allows such as he to continue under its flag, and the exposure (which the author means for praise) of the over-lauded Martyn—nervous, weak, vacillating, morbidly introspective and self-conscious, yet presumptuous to a degree: after a fortnight's study of Hindustani he told "Gilchrist my desire of translating some of the Scripture with him" (Vol. I, 483)! He eventually did make some translations, of which the less is said the more they will do credit to his otherwise useless memory. Malcolm's life shows how little was once thought of even the most brilliant services of Anglo-Indian officials,—contrasting almost painfully with the present over-doing of honours. Altogether, these books are full of well-written matter, and deserve more than a cursory perusal—a place in every good library.

MESSRS. ASHER AND CO.; LONDON AND BERLIN.

2. *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Marbôgh*, A.D. 485-519; by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, LITT. D., F.S.A. *etc.* 2 vols.; 1894. Mr. Wallis Budge has conferred a great boon on Syriac scholars by this edition of the

Discourses of Philoxenus, of which the first volume gives the Syriac text very prettily printed by W. Drugulin of Leipzig, and the second an English translation preceded by a critical introduction that includes the Syriac text of some works of Philoxenus tending to throw light on the discourses by a statement of his beliefs and views, which underlie parts of the discourses and without a clear knowledge of which, their argument is not always easy to follow. It matters little in the present day, though the fact doubtless did evil in its own, that Philoxenus was a leader among the Monophysites and thus helped greatly in the separation between East and West. His writings are valuable to-day as specimens of a facile and graceful style of Syriac. The text is taken from a collation of 8 manuscripts in the British Museum, ranging from the 6th to the 9th Century; and we quite agree with the learned editor, that, with his careful study, we now have it pretty nearly as perfect as when first issued by Philoxenus; the translation is excellent; and in every way the book deserves a warm welcome from all interested in Syriac studies. The 13 discourses are on very various subjects, and some of them are of portentous length. There are many vigorous passages; and we were interested to find Cicero's fevered man clamouring for water reproduced (II, p. 230). It is a great boon to the student of Syriac to find so excellent a text with the *adminicula* for its study, as Mr. Wallis-Budge has here so carefully provided.

AUSTRALIA YEAR-BOOK AND PUBLISHING CO.; SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE.

3. *The Year Book of Australia for* 1895, edited by the Hon. E. GRENVILLE, Member of the Legislative Council of N.S. Wales; 1895. This, the fourteenth annual number, is a perfect *thesaurus* of information regarding Australia and its various colonies, but does not include Tasmania or New Zealand. The mass of matter includes historical, administrative and statistical information, carefully and accurately compiled and brought down to date; and the minuteness of detail may be judged—quoting at random—from the inclusion of "Hints to house-holders regarding water-supply" (p. 372). The book is invaluable to all connected with the Australian colonies; we have to thank the Agent-General of N.S. Wales, Sir S. Saul, for his kindness in sending us his own copy, for perusal and review; and our readers will be glad to have their attention drawn to a book very necessary in forming a correct idea of the actual position of the Australian Colonies.

THE BANGKOK PRESS; SIAM.

4. *Chulakantamangala, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam*, by CAPTAIN G. E. GERINI; 1895. This learned Pali scholar and archæologist deals in this volume, which is as beautifully got up as it is well illustrated, with the hair-cutting or tonsure ceremony that is practised on all children, both male and female, in Siam. The work is divided into 3 parts, supplemented by numerous notes. Part first discusses the ceremony, generally, as to its origin, meaning, and circumstances. Our author here shows the extent of his great erudition in both Eastern and

Western knowledge; and he traces the origin of the ceremony to sun-worship,—perhaps the first of all idolatrous cults. Part 2nd gives the details of the Tonsure ceremony for the common people and the nobles, and Part 3rd, the more elaborate ceremonial established for the royal family. The illustrations comprise delineations of most of the objects used in these performances. A complete and exhaustive discussion and description of so ancient and general a practice cannot fail, while forming a special subject of study for the Pali scholar and the student of Comparative religion, to contain many a point for the consideration of other specialists—say in Folk-lore,—and a curious narrative full of interest for the general reader.

MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; LONDON.

5. *A Japanese Marriage*, by D. SLADEN; 1895, is a pleasantly-written novel with a double purpose. One of these is the depicting of the life led in Japan by the English settlers, which, faithfully as it seems to show their amusements and love affairs, does not sufficiently expose its drudgery, annoyances and weariness. The other purpose is to show how circumstances may force a marriage between a man and a deceased wife's sister, even against their intentions though not much against their desires. The moral sought to be drawn is that it is best to legalize such marriages in general—regarding which, we need scarcely say, opinions will continue to differ in spite of this book. The book itself is nevertheless distinctly good reading. The plot is simple and all the better for an entire absence of crime and wickedness in general, except scandal-mongering; the leading characters are well described; the pictures of life in Japan are well drawn; and the story is well told;—altogether a pleasant and agreeable book.

6. *Our Lord's Teaching*, by the REV. JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D.; 1895. (Edinburgh, R. and R. Clark, Ld.) This is another volume of the "*Guild Text Books*" Series, edited by the Rev. Drs. Charteris and M'Clymont. It purports to convey the doctrines taught by our Lord personally as mentioned in the Gospels, omitting the teaching that came to us through the Apostles. Though our author sincerely tries to avoid controversy, and states as unpolemically as he can what his views are regarding this teaching, such a book must of its own nature be a controversial one. Numerous systems have been elaborated out of the four gospels, and of these every author naturally considers best that which he himself professes. Now our Review, being essentially non-controversial in matters of religion, cannot deal with controversial subjects, which necessarily exist in this work. We, therefore, confine ourselves to saying that the general view of Christianity is fairly stated, and that the book is well written and eminently readable.

MESSRS. W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

7. *Among the Gods*, by AUGUSTA KLEIN; 1895. We confess to a perfect ignorance of the author; but the publishers' name is a guarantee of a good book: it is well got up and printed, with full page illustrations from photographs by well-known photographers in India. The authoress leads a personally-conducted party to Ceylon, and on through India, up and

down the same, and back again. What she has to say about the "gods," being generally taken from competent authorities, will pass muster; but of knowledge of India itself there is a marked dearth,—in fact, even of general knowledge. Thus we have (p. 3) "the *new* moon's delicate crescent swims in the clear deep-blue of the *midnight* sky";—the Italics are ours. At p. 4, the author forgets that all constellations change, with the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, the position of their heads and tails with reference to the zenith, all the world over. Cocoanut "so-called milk . . . is in fact a sweet juice not unlike that of a melon" (p. 9). A "Portuguese archbishop of Goa" becomes the actor in the grand tale regarding the tooth of Buddha, instead of the noble governor (p. 29). Travellers quitting Madras "are taken off the pier and presently rejoice to stand again on a genuine fragment of England, to see white faces around them and hear the sound of their native tongue" (p. 126)—as if there were no Europeans at Madras itself and English was not there spoken. We need not multiply instances. What we have said will suffice to show that this book will not bear criticism for correctness and accuracy. But it is a pleasant, gossiping, well-written tour in the East, which is all the more interesting to read from its having—to our taste—an unmistakable flavour of Great Russell Street.

8. *Sport in the Pamirs and Turkestan Steppes*, by MAJOR C. S. CUMBERLAND; 1895. Our author has certainly delayed over-long the publication of his book; but the time that has elapsed since he travelled in these wild regions has not diminished, much less exhausted the interest of such a journey as his. The title simply and fully describes his book. It concerns sport, and sport only, though it naturally includes descriptions of the country and its routes, its peoples and their ways, its difficulties and its advantages. There is not a word of politics in it—and we are thankful for that. The author meets the redoubtable Col. Grombcheffsky in the Pamirs,—goes to the inevitable Yarkand and Kashgar,—enters Russian territory,—meets Russian officials and traverses Russia in Asia, without a word on politics. So much the better for the reader, who, tired of such discussions in other books, cannot but be delighted with the simple descriptions of sport and travel which are here given him. Successful or otherwise, our author tells his tale equally well. Truth is not everywhere a valued virtue; and at p. 241, we have a splended example—a Karim Khan detected in personally stating that he, Karim Khan, was not present but was "gone to Karaart with some sheep." The author's linguistic attainments, allowing him to converse directly with many persons during his travels, enable him to depict, almost unintentionally, many a similarly interesting trait of character, personal, tribal or national. The map at the end of the volume is very good, embracing all the author's trips and journeys, and giving, among other things, a full detail of the scene of the late operations about Chitrál; for, as one of his earlier shooting trips had taken him near Chilás and he visited Samarkand, the map includes a very wide stretch of territory. We can recommend the book to our readers as most entertaining: many of them will, with us, feel their mouths water on reading of the big game, far away.

MESSRS. BLISS, SANDS AND FOSTER; CRAVEN STREET, LONDON.

9. *The Amir Abdur-Rahman*, by STEPHEN WHEELER, F.R.G.S., with portraits and maps; 1895. Not only its timely appearance but its own intrinsic merit and external neatness should procure this book a hearty welcome. The author knows his subject, treats it fully though briefly, and his remarks on persons, events and circumstances are fair, and well balanced. We must except, among others of a similar nature, those made at p. 171, on the Penjdeh incident. Not only is the subject of this biographical sketch a remarkable man; but his peculiar position, between Russia and India, makes his personality, his country and his descendants objects of more importance than they might obtain for themselves. The vicissitudes of the fortunes of Abdur Rahman Khan, his aims, system and achievements, his government and people are clearly brought before the general reader, and we hope that a wide circulation of the book will enable a better idea to be formed of one of the most peculiar countries and peoples on the earth, and of their present extraordinary ruler.

CALCUTTA GOVERNMENT PRESS; INDIA.

10. *Lists of British Enactments in force in Native States*, by J. M. MACPHERSON; 1895. This volume deals with Western India, that is, with all the Native States under the Governor of Bombay, and includes the Persian Coast and Islands, Muscat, the Somali Coast and Zanzibar, and is brought down to the end of 1894. It is the completing volume —the 6th—of a series, in which are included all the States in any sense depending on the Government of India as their suzerain. By British Enactments the author tells us are meant those proceeding from the general jurisdiction over British subjects and servants in all Native States and from the special jurisdiction acquired, by cession or otherwise, in Native States over persons other than British subjects and servants. It is a very valuable work of reference in the political, judicial and even the administrative departments of the Indian service, evincing a vast amount of diligent investigation and judicial accuracy.

MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO.; LONDON.

11. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers*, by DR. R. BROWN; 1895. We are in receipt of the fourth and concluding volume of this excellent work, the previous volumes of which we have noticed, with the praise they deserved, as they appeared in succession. This one, dealing with the achievements of European nations in Africa, attains quite as high a standard as its predecessors. Portugal—as was the case chronologically—leads the way; France and Spain follow; then the British, next the Dutch, followed by the British in South Africa. The Berlin Conference,—the Congo State,—Zanzibar,—the work of Chartered Companies in Ibea, Central and South Africa,—and German and Italian action are all successively and successfully dealt with; and the last chapter sums up the situation. There is a good though not exhaustive Index, at the end of this volume.

We take the opportunity of the conclusion of this—the best extant work on Africa in general—to congratulate the enterprising publishers and the

learned and versatile editor, on the result of their undertaking. Well written, neatly printed, beautifully bound and profusely and splendidly illustrated, it leaves hardly anything to be desired. A variety of maps illustrate the continent as regards its geology, religion, commerce, etc. The best and latest works have been consulted, to ensure accuracy and furnish information up to date. While there are some noticeable omissions—*e.g.* the scanty mention of Tripoli and of our flotilla of gunboats on Lake Nyassa—it is within the bounds of legitimate and well merited praise to say that no one work equals it for the extent, correctness and utility of the information here collected and presented to the public at a price which places it within the general reach. It should find an honoured place in every library.

12. *A Ride to Khiva*, by FRED BURNABY. New Edition; 1895. The interest in this adventurous ride is ever fresh, even when, as now, one can travel from St. Petersburg right to the Caspian (and far beyond) by railway. The pleasant style, the graphic descriptions, the pregnant remarks and the observant views of the daring traveller are well known, and scarcely need our praise to ensure the book a welcome from our readers. Much has changed, but not Russia nor its systematic aggression, sturdy despotism and reckless officials; and clearly written across Burnaby's work are the replies to those (and I regret to say there are still many) who see in Russia a great civilizing agency and a natural ally of England in Asia. The book should be carefully read to see both what Russia has succeeded in doing since it was first published and what she is still doing on the same lines, in order to forecast events, pregnant with mighty results, which are still in the dim but perhaps not very distant future, and to which Russia is advancing by leaps and bounds, while England slumbers.

MESSRS. CHAPMAN AND HALL; LONDON.

13. *China, Present and Past*, by R. S. GUNDRY (with map); 1895. The author of this very interesting book is a well-known authority on China; and, like his other writings, this bears witness to the extent of his knowledge of the past of China, and also to the clearness and general soundness of his prognostications regarding the future of that country. The book, however, is a republication chiefly of articles written for various Reviews; and though in each case the subject is quite brought down to date and is supplemented with additional information, its leading defect is that common to all such publications—of being somewhat disjointed and consequently inconclusive. But so competent a writer could not give us over 400 pages of matter without furnishing many an illustration of Chinese thought, action and life—many a trait of Chinese character, individual, social, and national, —many an instance of Chinese impracticability and *insouciance* on the one hand and of energy and *savoir-faire* on the other. He thus shows us in what way China has progressed of late, in spite of its general immobility; and while he presents many pictures for our admiration, he also exhibits a number of characteristics which cannot fail to provoke disgust in the differently constituted Western mind. The terrible curse of the Chinese competitive examination, and of the consequent Mandarinism (to coin a

word for our purpose) looms out in these pages in all the magnitude of its evil consequences; but, at the same time, there flicker glimmers of hope for the future, which all friends of China cannot but trust to see realized full soon. There is a gruesome chapter on Torture; there is much about missionaries, with which their friends will not quite agree; but the chapter on the Yellow River is, perhaps, the best part of the book, as it exhibits the good and the bad points of the administration in what may be considered a test case of what the Chinese can do and what they fail to accomplish. In the present conjuncture the book is very welcome, as furnishing much-needed correct information regarding a people in whom the best and the worst qualities of human nature are mixed up in a manner most confusing to study without an adequate guide.

MESSRS. T. AND T. CLARK; GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

(BERLIN: REUTHER AND REICHARD.)

14. *Lexicon Syriacum, auctore Carolo Brockelmann*; 1895. Our October 1894 No. expressed briefly our satisfaction with the first instalment of this valuable lexicon, which the kindness of the publishers had placed in our hands, and now that they have sent us the entire book, neatly bound in a volume of 510 pages, we have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform excellence of the work as it stands, which quite carries out the promise of its first portion. Combining brevity with clearness and a systematic arrangement with ease of reference, it fills a long vacant place and will be equally welcome to both the Syriac scholar and student. Its being in Syriac-Latin should ensure it a welcome in all civilized countries, where—though, alas! in a diminishing degree—the latter of the two languages still is an international means of communication. It contains every word used by Syriac authors, with references to the places where they occur. The printing and general get up leave nothing to be desired; and we both hope and expect that the publication of this cheap and excellent work will be of great use in encouraging and propagating the study of Syriac. There is (as he himself rightly says) a very needless Preface by Professor Th. Noldeke. This growing practice is much to be deprecated: each book should stand or fall by its own merits, and not by the bolstering of patronizing prefaces, no matter by whom written. In the present case it was all the more needless because Brokelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* is amply strong enough to go before the public on its own merits.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; WESTMINSTER.

15. *Can Russia Invade India?* by COL. H. B. HANNA, B.S.C. (*retired*); 1895. The gallant author seeks to establish, 1° that the "Forward Policy" is a grave blunder, and 2° that the actual frontier of India—the Indus, with adjuncts—is invulnerable. With the first point we quite agree; and even the second would be practically correct were Russia mad enough to try a sudden irruption into India such as our author pictures. But herein lies his mistake. Russia contemplates no immediate invasion of India, but means it when the time and her plan are mature. That plan consists in gradually absorbing slice after slice of the intervening lands, with their

complete *Russification*. Now this is being quietly but steadily worked out; eventually all the intermediate territories will be Russia; and the two Empires will then be opposed, body to body. None now alive may live to see that day, when all the obstacles which Col. Hanna here elaborately details will have been removed by the *Russification* of Afghanistan, and the last struggle for empire begins. To declare the inevitable attack to be impossible or foredoomed to disaster, is simply lulling the public into a fatal sleep destined to a rude awakening. Nothing can prevent that attack, except a formal declaration to Russia that one step beyond her present S.E. frontiers, under any pretence whatever, will make England draw the sword and fling away the scabbard: that declaration no British government in these degenerate days has the courage to make, or, if made, to execute. Our gallant author's painstaking book should be read by all who have at heart the maintenance of the Empire; for it shows admirably at least one side of a vital question, which should be studied from each of its several points of view.

THE EDINBURGH GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE; EDINBURGH.

(MESSRS. BARTHOLOMEW AND CO., EDINBURGH.)

16. *Special war map of the N.W. Frontier of India, showing British operations in Chitral;* 1895. This map gives more than it professes. From below Karachi, Gwalior and Gaya, it goes up to Khojend and Marghilan in Russian Turkestan, and from Purneah and Sahibgunj in the east to Kandahar and Kirki in the west. The right hand upper corner has an enlarged map of the country between Kilah Punjah in the north to Murree and Peshawur in the south, and from Srinagar in the east to Jelalabad in the west. It is very prettily got up, and neatly executed; and though it omits some things that might have been given upon the seat of war, it is a clear and excellent map for following the operations now happily closed.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

17. *The People and policy of the Far East*, by HENRY NORMAN; 1895. Our author is an authority on the East, as he describes places and people included in his four years' extensive travels; and while his descriptions are lively, graphic and faithful, the views founded on his careful observations and investigations are generally pregnant, sound and accurate. The numerous illustrations are beautiful and well produced. The field covered is very extensive. Beginning with Shanghai, Hong-Kong and the Straits, he reviews successively France, Russia, Spain and Portugal in the East. These chapters are most interesting; and the summary might be that the first is doing everything the wrong way, the second steadily if slowly progressing to consolidation, the third asleep and the last dead. Then comes the turn of China, which gets some ugly but not ill-merited hits, and of which past, present and future seem equally dark;—next of Korea, of which at least the northern part our author tells us (and with much probable truth) will eventually belong to Russia;—and then of Japan. Mr. Norman is not free from the prevalent Japanolatry. At p. 360 (*e.g.*) Japan did not provoke the late war; at p. 376 she is dubbed a "first class military

power"; and at p. 377, one of her buglers blows, apparently for a long time (with a bullet in his chest), till breath fails—which anyone can tell would be an immediate result. It is, however, when we come to Siam that we see how peculiar are some of our author's views. In the late plundering of Siam by France, Siam is all in the wrong and France in the right. The chief grounds of this strange assertion are: 1° that Siam was not strong enough to resist France, and should, therefore, according to the singular advice of Great Britain, have given in at once; and 2° that the treaty allowing even war-vessels to come up to Bangkok was violated by Siam's refusing permission to the French vessels on their way to bully Siam with the threat of bombardment. The first shows too strong an appreciation of the right of might, for our taste, and the second is an interpretation which no statesman could imagine: when war and dismemberment are openly threatened, such rights cease of their own nature and by the *jus gentium*. Though Siam needs much reform, as our author says, and though its government committed many mistakes, and was even guilty of several faults, these neither justify the robbery by France, nor nullify the rights of Siam. After another glance at the Malay Peninsula, our author sums up. Macao and the Philippine Islands will cease to belong to their present owners; it is best for Russia and England to make friends in Asia; China will have to be partitioned; France will not succeed in the East; over Siam the vultures will quarrel; Japan has a great future; Britain should look after her Imperial interests in the East and consolidate them. At p. 599 we are told "we have the right and the opportunity, and therefore the duty to extend our influence and trade, in a word our Empire"; but then at p. 600, nothing can be done by our governments except through the public conscience. That may be: but of late it has seemed as if there were scarcely an insult too gross or an injustice too great for our governments to submit to, rather than fight; no commercial, colonial or even Imperial interest so important for which they would dare to stand up firmly or use a shotted gun against a first class power. The national conscience seems too profoundly asleep in the folds of self-conceit and fear of taxation, too securely tied with the thongs of the whips of Party Government, to be roused to a sense of its duties towards both Great and Greater Britain.

18. *Vedic India*, by ZENAIDE A. RAGOZIN; 1895, (New York: Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons) forms the 41st volume of *The Story of the Nations* Series, and is fully worthy of its predecessors for excellence of form. Vast, too, and valuable is the information collected by the author from the numerous works of which he gives a list. Here we note, with surprise, that he has not placed even one written by any Indian Scholar: surely such productions—among which we may, without wishing any invidious comparisons, specify Babu Romesh Chunder Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*—should be studied by writers on Vedic times. They might have enabled our author to reconstruct a better sketch of the early history of Vedic India than that given at pp. 303 and following. In fact, we cannot have for this epoch any real history of a nation—when was India ever a nation?—but only delineations of very ancient times, life and tribes. A good deal of space is wasted in this book, in the philological parts by

needless repetitions of cognate derivations—French, Spanish, Italian, *e.g.* from Latin,—and in the historical parts by inopportune details—as of the European Companies, among the "Sources of our Information." But while we cannot give to this volume the unstinted praise deserved by nearly all its predecessors, we can recommend it to our readers as an important work in this excellent Series, containing a digest of much varied information, pleasant to read and deserving of study.

MESSRS. FUNK AND WAGNALLS; NEW YORK, LONDON AND TORONTO.

19. *A Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. ii.—M to Z; 1895. Besides a preliminary announcement, we noticed the first volume (A to L) of this important American work, in our No. for April, 1894; and it goes without saying that all the good points then indicated by us are evident also in this concluding volume. The work includes a vastly greater number of words than any previous similar one;—the illustrations, printing and binding can be fitly described only by the word splendid;—the amount of learning and special knowledge displayed in its pages by its band of nearly 250 workers is simply immense, detailed, well digested, and, as a rule, accurate;—and, considering its magnitude and importance, its price is comparatively low. It is more than a Dictionary; and we do not over-praise it in saying that for the busy man, who is also of narrow means, it can even well supply, for daily use, the place of an Encyclopædia: few matters needed for daily reference are absent. But a reviewer should, above all things, be just; and hence we cannot omit its defects. Its definitions are not always absolutely correct: *e.g.*, "*cloud*," is stated to be "a mass of visible vapour or collection of watery particles floating in the air at various heights,"—a definition which *might* apply to the steam from a kettle-spout. Nor are the meanings of words invariably exhaustive:—take *e.g.* the omission of a well-known religious service under the word "*benediction*." But as a leading test, let us take the word "*Dictionary*":

"A book containing the words of any language, sometimes together with their equivalents in another language, or the words employed in any science or art or special branch of knowledge, arranged alphabetically, and usually also with the spelling, pronunciation, etymology and definitions of the words, together with other explanatory or illustrative features; lexicon; word-book."

Now this meaning or explanation (—definition is an unsuitable term in this case—) is not as good as that of *e.g.* Webster,* Walker or Johnson; it is needlessly long and redundant; it excludes trilingual and polyglot Dictionaries; and the inclusion of the word "spelling," without the addition of "correct," is simply absurd, as a word cannot be printed without being spelled. Among other defects of this, on the whole, admirable work, are: 1°. Numerous words—Latin, Italian, French, Hindustani (extremely ill-spelled and incorrect) etc.—are introduced, which, though used or quoted by English authors, are not words of the English Language at all: *e contrâ*, many others in daily use are omitted;—thus while we have "*percentage*," "*per cent.*" is omitted, and so are many similar Greek terms quoted in

* Webster explains "Dictionary" to be "a book containing the words of a language, arranged alphabetically, with explanations of their meaning; a lexicon; a vocabulary; a word-book."

English works. 2°. Names of buildings (—"Alhambra" and "Tajmahal" occur, but "Louvre" does not—) are not wanted in a Dictionary; 3°. No more are mere mispronunciations like "*benow*" for "*by now*"; nor 4° utter barbarisms like *Agrarianize*, *Cervantism*, *circularize*; nor 5°, slang like *hanky-panky*, *hoky-pokey*, etc. Thus the book is full of words which no writer with a reputation to lose or win for purity of style would dream of using. Neither the size of a book nor the labour spent in making it—neither the mass of its words nor the number of its authors,—neither the skill and labour utilized, nor the money spent in its production,—nor all those together can make a good "Standard English Dictionary." That excellence depends entirely on its corresponding exactly with its title, and admitting nothing but standard English words. Inclusion in its pages should mean for a word what the mint-stamp means for the currency,—its authorization as a really English word. Not mere use by certain writers, though their productions may sell by the thousand, suffices to secure this recognition, which requires the usage of *good* authority. Hence lexicography needs, in the first place, judgment, discrimination and selection: qualities which we sometimes miss here. We think, therefore, that this work, great though it certainly is, combines grave defects with undoubted utility and much excellence. We object to the inclusion in its pages of what are not real and sound English words, and of much heterogeneous matter, which, if it need be given at all, should be relegated to Appendices and Supplements. This, while reducing the size and price of the book, would enhance its authority without impairing its usefulness.

MESSRS. HARRISON AND SONS; LONDON.

20. *The India Office List*, 1895. Among several publications bearing similar titles, this one is distinguished by some important traits. It does not profess to give a full list of Indian officials: it limits itself to only the higher grades; and to each name it adds a record of services, brief but sufficient. A good deal of historical information is scattered over its pages; the rules for examination for the Indian Civil Service are clearly given; and there is a good abstract of the regulations of that Service. A notable and important feature is the historical, geographical and statistical information furnished between pages 131 and 190, compiled from Sir W. W. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," and "Indian Empire," and other sources. As a handbook of information regarding India and its chief officers it is of great value for reference.

MESSRS. HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON.

21. *The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the Turk*, by F. D. GREENE, M.A.; 1895. This little book is a severe indictment of the Turkish Government in its relation to its Christian subjects, and of the various Christian powers, which could enforce reforms in this matter, but have hitherto failed to do so: all the culprits are severely handled—perhaps not more so than all deserve. There is an only too true description of the present state of government at Constantinople; Chapter X., on the Armenians as a body is interesting, though somewhat less than accurate; Chap. XI. on American

work in Turkey savours of much self-praise; and all through there is a manifest bias against Turkey, which must be carefully discounted when reading the book. As to the last massacres, the numbers destroyed are variously stated, by various persons at various places with various claims for knowledge, at from 20 to 48 villages exterminated and from 3 to 25,000 souls. The subject is a painful one; and we hope this book will help towards a right solution not merely of the Armenian question, but of others quite as important. We cannot, however, say much in favour of an exaggerated style of writing which may be gauged from the opening sentence of the book: "The writer has, from his birth, been a student of the Eastern Question, but makes no claim to having mastered it." Minerva herself could not have done more.

MESSRS. HOULSTON AND SONS; LONDON.

22. *Ten Years in Manchuria*, by DUGALD CHRISTIE, L.R.C.P.; 1895. Our author is a medical missionary in China; and his little book, which is well got up and well illustrated, gives an excellent though plain record of his experience and work between the years 1883 and 1893, in and about Mukden. Interspersed with this, is much of even greater importance, showing the character of the country, and of its inhabitants, exposing some of its customs and superstitions, and describing, among other things, the disaster of a great inundation. Chapter VI, on some conditions which influence disease, is equally interesting from another point of view, showing that the book will prove very acceptable to several classes of readers. Mr. Christie seems to have done much good in his own useful line of work; and the influence exercised in religious affairs must also have been considerable; but the specific results in the way of good, baptized converts appear to have been small; for all will not be inclined, with our author, to enumerate among genuine Christians those who, if they believe, will not profess, even at death, the religion of their benefactors. The proceeds of this excellent little book, I may add, will be devoted to the improvement of the hospital at Mukden, and it thus deserves all the more support.

MESSRS. A. D. INNES AND CO.; LONDON.

23. *Britain and her Rivals in the 18th Century*, by A. D. INNES, M.A.; 1895. The epoch embraced in this remarkable historical work is from 1713 to 1789—a period on which there are few good works, and which in our general histories seems rather inadequately dealt with. Our rivals are, of course, France and Spain, and our former colonies, now the United States of America. The field covered is most extensive;—W. Indian, Atlantic, Mediterranean and E. Indian waters, with their neighbouring lands. Our author gives in detail the circumstances of each nation, the nature of its needs and the intricacies of its politics, the extent of its resources, the causes of failure and of success. He holds generally speaking, a fair and even balance, and treats his subject fully and clearly. It is easy to see that if England emerged victorious from the long and trying times under review, that result is due more to the errors of her rivals than to the statesmanship of her own guides. A point strongly insisted upon by the author, and one

which cannot be kept too prominently in the fore-front of all politics, is the necessity of Naval Superiority for the welfare and safety of England. It was precisely previous neglect of their navy that crippled the action of Spain and France when the time needing it arrived. The former is now no longer a rival; but the latter is, and a very aggressive and self-asserting rival too, which now has a strong fleet to oppose to us, capable on occasion of doing us an indefinite amount of damage, unless we ourselves increase our fleet to the extent required to meet present necessities. We strongly recommend the book to our readers.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

24. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London; Vol. II. (Second Session, 1892-3): 1895, contains two excellent lectures. The first, by M. B. Huish, LL.B., deals with the "Influence of Europe on Japanese Art," and decides that it was practically *nil*, chiefly in consequence of the attitude of Japan to the two European nations with which it came most in contact: hatred of the Portuguese and contempt for the Dutch led to the ignoring of whatever art they could have introduced. Discussions at such meetings seldom raise the whole question; and though the speakers on this occasion mainly agreed with the lecturer's view, it might not be difficult to add some more to the reasons which they gave why Japan had not taken to European art. The main question is, how far was art sought to be introduced? Consul Daigoro Goh's paper on "The family relations in Japan" is very good: but it might easily have been a great deal better, had he confined himself to descriptions of what those relations really are, instead of needlessly and uselessly diverging into bye-paths of comparison with Western customs and ideas. It furnishes, however, a graphic picture of Japanese life, which, we are sorry to learn, is fast disintegrating under more modern influences. There are several beautiful illustrations in this book, among which perhaps the one claiming most attention is the full length figure of Christ (in Satsuma ware, 14 inches high) opposite page 86. The publication can be recommended as most interesting.

MESSRS. W. AND A. KEITH JOHNSTON; EDINBURGH.

25. *Map to illustrate the Chitrál Expedition in Northwest India*; 2nd Ed.; 1895, gives, though it is small in size, a useful map of the seat of war, including the country southward to below Delhi and eastward to Shajehanpur. In the left-hand bottom corner there is an enlarged map of the territory from Yasin to the Khyber Pass. Its peculiarity is that it gives the main features of the routes without unnecessary details. Hence it avoids confusion, and is quite plain and clear without pretending to be full.

MESSRS. P. S. KING AND SON; WESTMINSTER.

26. *The Opium Habit in the East*, by JOSHUA ROWNTREE; 1895, professes to be a "Study of the Evidence given to the Royal Commission on Opium 1893-4", and though the prefatory note on the fly-leaf declares that the book, "commenced before the writer joined the Representative

Board of the Anti-Opium Society, has no representative character, and is not even a personal pronouncement," yet the bias of a partisan appears all through it. Perhaps unconsciously, but most certainly, he has tried to gather all that he could, from the Blue-books published before the Report itself, which seemed in favour of the opinion which was and is his. The practical (though unintentional) injustice done to the other view may be markedly noted in what is said about "the Bishop of Calcutta and some of the clergy," at p. 61,—an easy way of slurring over the formal declaration of the Catholic and Protestant Clergy of Calcutta on the subject. Evidence collected by commissions like this can, like statistics, be made to serve opposite views. Mr. Rowntree has taken much pains and deserves great credit for having put together, in this very readable pamphlet, all that could be found in the evidence favourable in any way to the views of Anti-opiumists. Others will doubtless do the converse; and from both combined, with the aid of the Report itself, an impartial reader will be able to draw fair and reliable conclusions.

THE LEADENHALL PRESS; LONDON.

27. *Ernest England, a Drama for the Closet*, by J. A. PARKER; 1895. Our author is well known in India as a publicist; and he has written this work most evidently for a purpose. The existence of evil in the world is one of the greatest of mysteries; and with it Mr. Parker deals, justifying, in his own way, the mysterious ways of God towards man. Amid incidents, numerous, telling and trying, an artist loses his lady-love to find her, during the Mutiny, in India; marries and lives happily till death intervenes; and the book closes with 8 pages of a soliloquy over the grave of wife and child. The second title of the book is "A soul laid bare," which, we take to signify that the author has given us a sketch of his own mode of answering the objections which the existence of evil in the world often raises in minds unenlightened by the faith. To those troubled by the doings of what an oriental would call *Kismet*, the book will be of interest, though we cannot say that either the objections themselves or the solutions offered commend themselves particularly to our intellect. Faith and not reasoning must keep man from shipwreck on the rocks of unbelief.

M. ERNEST LEROUX; RUE BONAPARTE, PARIS.

28. *Les Religieux Eminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans le Pays d'Occident*, par. I. TSING, *traduit en Français* par EDOUARD CHOUANNES, Professeur au Collège de France. 1895. This learned Sinologist gives us a valuable introduction, before bringing us to his excellent translation of this ancient work, which comprises the biographies of about 60 ancient Chinese devotees, who undertook religious pilgrimages to various shrines. Several of these lives contribute little of use in any sense; but others are interwoven with references to places, things, and persons, which are serviceable for increasing our geographical and historical knowledge. The learned translator's valuable notes are even more interesting than the text he interprets. It is well worth while to read an account of the devotion that burned in the breasts of the earlier Chinese Buddhists, driving them

to foreign travels, which in its turn increased knowledge in China, as is shown in this book.

MESSRS. LONGMANS AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

29. *Chips from a German Workshop*, by F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M.; New Edition, Vol. III.; 1895. The re-issue of this great work with additions, continues to delight scholars and a large circle of general readers. This third volume deals, besides other matter, with Essays on Language and Literature; and though, on some of the subjects treated, there neither is at present, nor is likely to be for a long while to come, any absolute *consensus* of opinion, the views of the eminent author always claim a respectful hearing and are interesting even to those who differ from him. Amid all this solid matter of hard philology, we have a pleasant life of Schiller,—two (shall I say amusing?) essays on the reform of spelling in English and French,—and an interesting discussion on the language and poetry of Schleswig-Holstein. There are several pages printed in the "reformed spelling," a mere look at which should decide the question, though on which side, Conservative and Reformer will doubtless differ as of old

> "But which is the Pretender, which the King
> That, my dear sir, is quite another thing."

The long and learned notes are often of quite as much value as the texts to which they are attached.

MESSRS. S. LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

30. *Tarikh-ar-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat*, translated by E. D. ROSS, and edited by NEY ELIAS; 1895. The author, who after a chequered career died ruler of Kashmir in 1551, wrote, from tradition and personal investigations, a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, which though well known and often laid under contribution by many writers, has till now had no published English version. Mr. E. Denison Ross here gives us an excellent translation—excepting only irrelevant passages—from a collation of various MSS. with the Turki version and with partial MS. translations left by others; and the whole is edited with notes by Mr. Elias, her Majesty's Consul General for Khorasan and Seistan. The one is a good Persian scholar, and the other a well known authority on Central Asian affairs, and especially geography. The original has all the beauties and all the defects of similar Oriental works; the translation is accurate; the notes—mostly geographical and biographical,—are valuable; and an excellent map accompanies this well got up book. It is not a uniformly interesting book; but its pictured pages are full of minute details of the utmost importance in many senses,—of stirring events faithfully and graphically described,—and of traditional information regarding many persons, events and places, which, but for it, would be practically unknown. Divided into two parts, the first deals with the general history, from the second quarter of the 14th century downwards, and the second with the writer's own life and times. Not only will the reader who has the time enjoy going through this book, but the student and historian will peruse it with advantage, to acquire the knowledge he needs for this subject.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

31. *Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde*, by ARCHIBALD FORBES; 1895. Though there is no lack of lives of Lord Clyde, another from the sympathetic and practised pen of Mr. Forbes is very welcome; for the author is sure to produce a very readable book. Here we have a detailed life of Colin Campbell, beginning (p. 4) with the unintentional change of his name from Macliver to Campbell,—"a name which it would suit him for professional reasons to adopt." Receiving his commission at the early age of 16, he served successively in the Peninsula, America, China, Hong Kong and India—everywhere with distinction. Even early, however, excessive caution marked his character; and to him is distinctly traced the delay in attacking Mooltan from Lahore and Ferozepore, which spread the local insurrection into a general uprising of the Khalsa in 1848 9, and which, but for the promptitude and skill of Herbert Edwardes, might have become a far more serious matter even than it eventually proved. Similar over-caution—amounting indeed almost to insubordination—when in command at Peshawur brought down on him a well-merited and stinging rebuke from Lord Dalhousie. Sir Colin resigned his command and went home: the turbulent N.W. Frontier was certainly no place for such men as he. His promotion had been slow and he had attained a bare competence when the Crimean war recalled him to active service, in which he distinguished himself as much for his patriotic self-effacement in serving under Sir W. Codrington, his junior, as for his remarkable tactical skill and brilliant exploits. He was next Inspector-General of Infantry in England, when the Mutiny summoned him to India as Commander-in-Chief, *vice* Lord Anson deceased. After reading many works on the subject, including this one, we have come to the conclusion that, despite much overpraise, the Mutiny added little to Lord Clyde's previous reputation. Dalhousie had already touched the point in acknowledging "in the most ample terms the ability, the personal intrepidity and activity and the sterling soldierly qualities," even when reiterating the fact that in some incidents his conduct deserved censure for "over-cautious reluctance." A good-hearted man, a fearless, straightforward soldier, an excellent commanding officer and disciplinarian, a resourceful and ready tactician, he was still slow to act, overcautious to undertake and defective in strategy. He long did absolutely nothing to aid our troops at Delhi or Lucknow,—not even with that indirect aid which would have accrued from the mere report of the Commander-in-Chief's personal march forward; nor did he leave Calcutta till Delhi had fallen and the Doab been partially cleared. It was well that others held his nose to the grindstone regarding Lucknow, otherwise he and Mansfield would have marched round and about for months. How much sooner the mutiny might have been ended under almost any of the other leaders—Outram, Rose, Grant—may be matter of speculation; that it was unduly prolonged owing to his blunders is certain. With Mansfield to help him, one day's work was always prolonged to two or more; those he defeated were always allowed to "run away" and naturally returned to fight another day. Mr. Forbes, however, thinks him perfect and holds all to have been wrong in a military sense, who differed from

Clyde's views; and this partizanship goes so far as to allege, in excuse for strategical shortcomings, that "no matter how careful may be the pre-arrangements for precision in the execution of a combined operation when the distances are wide, as often as not there interposes some complication which detracts from the fulfilment of the combination," p. 149. The pages of Alison and Napier, and the deeds of Moltke tell a different tale. There are other slips, too. *E.g.*, at p. 116 the Bullock Train is stated to have been established in 1857 as a means of transport, yet I travelled by it in 1852. Was "Tanti Topee . . . the only real soldier the mutiny produced"? (p. 136). It was not Inglis but Outram who was left to command Lucknow after the second relief. But these are minor matters in no wise detracting from the value of Mr. Forbes' book which presents a faithful and vivid portrait of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, with just a little too much *couleur de rose*.

32. *Sir Samuel Baker, a Memoir*, by J. DOUGLAS MURRAY and A. SILVA WHITE; 1895. Sir Samuel was a typical Englishman, and has left a memory well worth preserving for the instruction of succeeding generations. A mighty hunter, a successful colonist, an indefatigable explorer, a firm governor, a noble philanthropist, an ardent patriot, a genial gentleman,—he presents a many-sided character, each subdivision of which deserves close study. What he did and how he did it are well told in this stout 8vo., which while it deals with the whole of his life in ample detail, particularly dwells on his connection with Egypt and the Soudan. He went there first as an explorer paying his own expenses; then as an Egyptian Governor, badly supported, dealing ponderous and effective blows against misgovernment and the slave-trade; and lastly as the friend, adviser, and confidant of General Gordon. Numerous extracts from letters by Sir Samuel and his many correspondents make the work exceedingly interesting. To the last Sir Samuel maintained his interest in Egypt and the Soudan,—and he never ceased urging our ever-varying governments to establish a sound, firm and proclaimed policy with regard to the latter. It is impossible to smother the feeling of disgust which arises in the reader's mind on considering the death of Gordon, the abandonment of the Soudan, and the persistent refusal to reconquer it, which can be explained only by the old Roman saw regarding those with whom the gods are angry. Baker showed that the Soudan cannot always remain a no-man's-land, and that its possessors can always command Egypt by commanding her water-supply. Egypt's right was that of conquest, and it has lapsed through the conquest by the Mahdi. Whatever theories interested parties may put forth regarding its belonging to Turkey or Egypt or the Mahdi, it is certain that, like a *res derelicta*, it will become the property of the first who is bold enough to seize it. With proper irrigation it is capable of vast development, and it can control the Nile, and hence Egypt. England has at least as much right to wrest it from the Mahdists as anyone else can have, and the work would not be difficult for an Indian army corps advancing from Suakim. If we do not take it France certainly will, for she is straining every nerve to reach the Nile from the West. We can go there from North, East, and South; and it is to be hoped that the sound views of Sir Samuel Baker on this point

will gradually form public opinion, to insist on our recklessly lazy government undertaking, even now, this most necessary work. We fear, however, that as at Khartoum, and as in fifty other cases, we shall once more be "too late."

33. *The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada*, by G. R. PARKINS, M.A., *with maps*; 1895. Canada has won for herself the leading position among Britain's Colonies; for though her mineral wealth may be surpassed by some others, yet the patient and steady industry of her people more than compensates for any disadvantages under which nature may have placed her. Add to this, that she has not only formed herself into a great confederation as a preliminary to becoming a great nation or State, but she has taken more than an active part - she has seized and retains still the lead—in procuring the closer union of all the Colonies for trade and commercial intercourse. She has made distinct approaches to England for a closer commercial union, preparatory to the much talked of but little forwarded Imperial Federation; but the silly and surly self sufficiency of our Government has caused her efforts in this direction to be a typical failure. Under these circumstances, Canada requires to be better made known to English readers, both at home and in the other Colonies, so that by understanding her condition, resources, capabilities and feelings, respect for her past and present action may go hand in hand with the desire for further and closer union. Our author, who has traversed Canada as correspondent to the *Times*, here gives us his letters to that paper, but in the form of a very readable book. He deals with the country as a whole and with its principal parts,—with trade relations and trade policy, with the questions of labour and education, and politics. He gives us three excellent maps; and incidentally, in the course of his work, he touches on various other questions—railways, emigration, and the progress of its States.

Till now Canada is persistently loyal to Great Britain and the Empire; and so far as can be seen, nothing but absolutely suicidal folly on the part of party-governed England can force her, much against her and her people's wish, either to seek union with the United States or to start as a self-governing and self sufficing independent State. Let us hope that this book, as the author wishes, may help to create in England a knowledge of Canada and her greatness, that can alone foster and strengthen the public opinion to which only we can trust to overcome the procrastination and selfishness of our successive governments, in the matter of Imperial Federation.

MESSRS. H. S. NICHOLS AND CO.; LONDON.

34. *The Secret History of the Court of Berlin*, by COUNT MIRABEAU; 2 vols.; 1895.

35. *The Private Memoirs of Louis XV., from the memoirs of* MADAME DU HAUSSET; 1895.

36. *The Secret Memoirs of the Royal Family of France*, by a LADY OF RANK; 2 vols; 1895. We take these three books together, as they belong to a class and have a family likeness. The continuation of such publications evidently meets a want and is a sign of the times; for the number

of such works shows a great demand for them in the class who alone can afford to purchase expensive books. There is plenty of gossip; but, amid tales of scandals and intrigues, we often stumble across valuable information. Thus at pp. i. 7-9 in the Berlin History we learn how the ducal rights of Courland were acquired by Russia;—at p. 52, we find the king leaving his household in arrears and scarcely paying his other debts at all—showing that, a century ago, European monarchs enjoyed some of the privileges of Oriental potentates, regarding *mine and thine*. P. 97 introduces the great mathematician La Grange, the successor of Euler:—and so on. The vile court of the vile Louis XV. appears in the second work, where too both history and human nature can be studied. P. 24, "Everybody is occupied about (princes) while ill—but as soon as they are dead nobody mentions them." At p. 57, "the king . . . agitated . . . suddenly exclaimed: 'The Regent was very wrong in restoring to them the right of remonstrating; they will end in ruining the State.'" No wonder the next reign saw the great Revolution! The third of these works brings us to the purer court and lives of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. Here there is more historical in place of personal narrative, though there is abundance of the latter also, and of information regarding the good Princess Lamballe, of whom the "Lady of Rank" was a companion. The two volumes, of commanding interest, close one chapter after the terrible death of the Princess and the sad, sad narrative of her tombless remains.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; 24, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON.

37. *Quarterly Statement, April* 1895. This excellent little publication is as full as ever of interesting matter. Dr. Bliss brings his report of the new excavations in Jerusalem down to the end of 1894; and the Rev. W. Ewing's journey to Hauran is continued, with the inscriptions collected in it. Mr. S. Bergheim identifies Zion and Millo with the City of David; Prof. J. Glaisher furnishes more meteorological statistics; several contributors deal with various inscriptions; and the hæmatite weight from Samaria is further discussed. The hundred closely printed pages furnish quite a treat for the student of the Holy Land.

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY; LONDON.

38. *Notes of a Journey on the Upper Mekong, Siam*, by H. WARRINGTON SMYTH; *with maps and illustrations;* 1895. Not much is yet known about Upper Siam, though the day is not, perhaps, far distant when it will be fully explored. Not only of localities, but even of tribes, customs and products, information is but vague and inadequate; and hence all the more welcome and interesting is Mr. Warrington Smyth's tour of exploration described in this very pleasant book. If the illustrations are somewhat rough, they are at least vivid; while the descriptions, plain and unpretending, suffice to show the climate, the nature of the country traversed, most of its products, and many of its peculiarities, with the leading characteristics of the people encountered. This book adds very considerably to the amount of information available regarding Siam, and as such should be welcomed by all who take an interest in geographical research.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

39. *The Religion of the Crescent*, by the REV. W. ST. CLAIR-TISDALL, M.A.; 1895, is a collection and rearrangement of the James-Long Lectures on Non-Christian Religious Systems delivered in 1891-2 by the secretary of the C. M. S. Mission at Isfahan. Its purport is clearly shown by the second title: "Islám: its strength, its weakness, its origin, its influence." The author has studied Muhammadanism deeply and his pages bristle with quotations from the Qurán and from Islamite doctors of the law, printed in the original Arabic and often translated into English. It goes without saying that complete impartiality on Islám cannot be found in the books of either Christian Missionaries or professing Muhammadan apologists: one must study many such works, on both sides, before he can hope to be competent to form a sound judgment on Islám and its influence and its future. No inconsiderable aid is given by observing its action in various countries; for Islám extends from Albania to New Guinea and from S. Africa to Japan. Though necessary for the purpose of these lectures, we do not relish the continual carping at Muhammadanism with one-sided strictures on matters common to it with Christianity. Such are, *e.g.*, sub-division into sects,—difference of level between theory and practice,—scientific and historic difficulties in their holy books,—anthropomorphism, —materiality of eschatology, etc. Both religions have a human and a divine element, though in different proportions. "The merchant lies and cheats . . . . and offers up his prayer and turns back once more to his lying" (p. 74): does not this occur even among Christians? And what does it prove, except that human nature is not easily changed? Among smaller matters, I note that at p. 157 (note 3) Muhammad is said to "blunder" in *Azar*, for *Zárah* the Talmudic name of Abraham's father, *Terah*: has the author never heard of people in the East being known by several names? At p. 5 he falls foul of the non-propagandist Mosque connected with the Woking Oriental Institute,—on which we recommend him to read more which he will find in this number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

This book is, however, a very important work, the result, evidently, of deep study and much thought; it tells us more about Islám than most similar ones do; and though not absolutely just, it will be extremely useful to those who wish to consider this religion from every point of view. We may probably recur to the subject in our next issue.

THE SRI VIDYA PRESS; KUMBAKONAM, INDIA.

40. *Nitidasáprabandhi*, edited by RADHAKRISHNA SASTRIAR, Sanskrit Pundit of Pudukota; 1894. This is a collection of ten Sanskrit poems, three of which are original, and seven translated from the Tamil. They are intended for students of Sanskrit in the earlier stages of their education, and contain useful precepts of morality, interspersed with shrewd worldly advice. We should have thought that it would have been possible to compile a useful reading book from the stanzas of Chánakya and other books of the kind. But no doubt the morality of Chánakya is occasionally

a little too worldly. The authors of this book have set themselves to provide for a felt want, and we hope that the book may meet with due success. There is a tendency in India to teach by means of books matters which in England are made the subject of oral instruction. For instance, in one poem of this book the reader is cautioned not to make a loud noise in the process of eating and not to wear dirty clothes. This will perhaps seem to Europeans a strange precept to embody in a Chrestomathy or *Delectus*, but we believe that it is quite in accordance with Indian ideas. Some of the precepts would be out of place in Europe. We have more than once met with cautions against over-familiarity with poisonous snakes. The student is warned not to make them play on his bed. The precept not to allow one's self to be too much subject to one's wife is not out of place in a text-book intended to be used in the country of early marriages. The precept, thrice repeated at least, to study diligently arithmetic and grammar shows for what class of the public these poems are intended. The precepts are sometimes strung together without any connection obvious to a European mind, and general tales of morality are interspersed with particular directions in a bewildering way. We might instance the following:

"Always reduce your anger to quietude,—
"Know that crookedness is reprehensible,—
"Be reckoned among the good,—
"Subdue attachment to singing."

Again we find two indubitably useful things linked together in a way, which appears somewhat arbitrary, in the following lines:

"Without a steersman a ship will not travel prosperously on the sea,
He who inflicts injury in the first half of a *muhúrta*, will reap the fruit of it in the second half."

We observe that some of the authors in this book use the particle *na* with the imperative mood. But the Petersburg lexicographers say, s.v.:—

"Vor einem imperat. dagegen steht immer *má*, und *na vada* Panchat. 42, 12 ist ohne allen Zweifel zu ändern. Eben so steht *má* und nicht *na* vor einem Aor. ohne augment der die Stelle eines imperat. vertritt." Prof. Sir Monier Williams in his Dictionary seems to agree with this canon. However, there must, no doubt, be exceptions to every rule. In conclusion we would observe that all the more difficult passages are explained in footnotes, which add considerably to the value of the work.

C. H. T.

TOWER PUBLISHING COMPANY, LONDON.

41. *Zoraidà: a romance of the Harem and the great Sahara*, by WILLIAM LE QUEUX; 1895. This book will be very popular among Englishmen interested in the picturesque side of "the East." It tells us exactly what an oriental country ought to be, if it is not, in British estimation. Yet it is clear, from many a local touch, that the author has been through Algeria, if not in the Sahara. His Arabic is a mixture of Syrian and Egyptian and appears to be derived from manuals rather than the fiery scenes of love which he describes. We never knew before that Arab ladies were so fond

of frantic kisses. The hero delights in holding a cigarette daintily in one hand, whilst putting the other on a charmer of snakes and males. The book is full of adventures, in which serpents predominate. The hair-breadth escapes in the Sahara, the rise and fall of its sandy Empires, the intrigues of its unknown Seraglios, the vast ramifications of the Anti-European fraternity of the Sanûsis, the discovery of treasures that take one's breath away, scene after scene of murder, torture, raiding, mysticism and love show that our race is not yet degenerate, as Dr. Nordau would have it, for vigorous must he be who can relish stories compared with which Monte Christo and Captain Marryat's are tame. The book is well worthy of the patriotic writer who frightened Englishmen out of their wits by "the great war in England in 1897."

WASHINGTON GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE; WASHINGTON, U.S.A.

42. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, to July, 1893*; 1894. This bulky volume, excellently printed and illustrated, consists of two parts. The first contains the Secretary's report, with appendices by several departments, including the Zoological which is of special interest and in which we regret to note a high rate of mortality —amounting to 20 per cent. of the entire collection. Appendix VI., regarding the Library, notes the inadequacy of the Reading Room and the whole establishment generally. In 1892-3, no less than 29,488 publications were received. The second part consists of selected papers, articles, *etc.*, from various sources, by many authors, and in widely different departments of science and art. Many of them are of very great and some of commanding importance. Among these we may specify, without disparagement of the others, a summary of progress in Anthropology by O. T. Mason; American Bows, Arrows and Quivers—most profusely illustrated; —Migrations of the races by Prof. James Bryce;—the Marine Biological Stations of Europe by B. Dean;—Comparative Locomotion of Animals, by E. J. Marcy;—the Present standpoint of Geography by C. R. Markham;—the Age of the Earth by C. King. The Problem of Flying and Electric-spark Photographs are very interesting. In fact this collection of papers places within the general reach a vast amount of information which but for its collection here would either remain altogether unknown or would have to be sought for in various and not easily accessible sources.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the fourth part of *The Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Indian Office Library*, by PROFESSORS DR. E. WINDISCH and DR. J. EGGELING, for a full notice of which we await the completion of this important work;—the *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle of the N. W. P. and Oudh to June*, 1894, the operations, curiously enough, but very profitably, dealing with parts of Upper and Lower Burma, recording good work done and promising interesting publications of previous work;— *England's Responsibility towards Armenia*, by the REV. M. MACCOLL, M.A. (London: Longmans and

Co.), containing a detailed indictment of the relations between Turkey and her Christian subjects,—a work of great importance, marred by too fervid a style. Just as we go to press we receive also from Messrs. H. S. Nichols and Co., London, F. G. BAKER'S *The Model Republic, a history of the Swiss People*, and *The Secret History of the Court of St. Cloud;*—*the Protohistoric Ethnography of Western Asia*, by DR. D. G. BRINTON (Philadelphia, U.S.A.), and T. C. Burbeitt's translation of DR. K. VOLLIER'S *Grammar of the Modern Egyptian Dialect of Arabic* (Cambridge University Press), of which we shall give a full review in our next issue.

The periodical publications of Messrs. G. Newnes and Co., Strand, London, while increasing in number maintain all their interest and excellence. We have just had 1. The world-wide known *Tit-bits;* 2. The cosmopolitan *Round the World*, No. 9, taking us through Canada to the United States; 3. *The Strand Novelettes*, No. 17; 4. *The Strand Magazine;* 5. *The Picture Magazine;* 6. *The Strand Musical Magazine;*—of these all the numbers maintain an equally high standard; 7. *Round the Coast*, No. 3, very timely at this season; and 8. (last not least) *Famous Views of the World*, 16 coloured Soliographs, which is the most varied and perfect thing of its kind that we have yet seen, both for drawing and colouring.

We have also received with thanks:—1. *Biblia*, the American Journal of Oriental Research (Meriden: Conn.);—2. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome: A. Beffani);—3. *Tungpao*, (Leyden: E. J. Brill);—4. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft:*—5. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—6. *The Review of Reviews* (London, W. T. Stead);—7. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—8. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—9. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—10. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York);—16. *Public Opinion* (London);—17. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—18. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—19. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest);—20. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable);—21. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—22. *The Moslem World*, a New Series (New York);—23. *Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—24. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart);—25. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 13a Serie, No. 12; and 26. *Actas das Sessões da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, vol. xiv. (Lisbon: National Press.)

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE leading affair in INDIA—the relief of Chitrál—is dealt with separately. Here we merely express our satisfaction at its speedy success, and at the loyal offers of service from the leading native states—Hyderabad, Kashmir, Gwalior, Jeypur, Bhopal, the Sikh and other States; most of which had, however, to be declined with thanks, as not needed. Besides the Kashmir troops, the Gwalior and Jeypur Transport Corps did good service. The expedition has, however, shown considerable weakness in the matter of transport, which was believed to be always in readiness, as it ought to be, for mobilizing two divisions at a few days' notice. Sher Afzul and Amir-ul-mulk have both been deported to India, while Umra Khan has sought hospitality, as a brother-Muhammadan, from the Amir of Afghanistan,—a request impossible for the latter to refuse. He is, however, kept under surveillance and has been but coldly received. Not only did the Khan of Dir give most valuable support to our columns and in fact break Umra Khan's power, but our Punyal and Hunza levies answered our call to arms, with 800 men, bringing 3 weeks' provision for themselves, to aid the advance from Ghilghit.

The Maxim guns seem to have done good service and 50 more have been ordered. The Asmar Boundary Commission, somewhat hampered by the Chitrál outbreak, succeeded in arranging our extreme N.W. boundaries, and Mr. Udney has returned. The Sikkhim Boundary commission are at work, our party consisting of Mr. White, Dr. Ewens, Capt. Colomb and Capt. Pressy with an escort of 30 soldiers. The Chinese Commissioners, Major Tu Hsi, T. Shan who speaks English, and Mu Shung, a Tibitan, met them at the Jelap Pass, whence all was reported well. The Indian Financial statement showed a deficit for 1893-4 of Rs. 15,469,980, and a surplus for 1894-5 of Rs. 9,905,000 instead of the anticipated deficit of Rs. 3,019,000. The revenue had improved by Rs. 31,041,000. The Exchange loss was estimated at Rs. 19,000,000 and Exchange compensation at Rs. 14,565,000. Ten months' returns for 1894-5 compared with 1893-4, gave imports Rs. 589,87,3,396 against Rs. 603,034,097, exports Rs. 846,670,148, against Rs. 822,606,450; balance in favour of India Rs. 356,796,752 against Rs. 219,572,353. The inland trade, as shown by Railway returns, was flourishing, only one line showing bad returns. The tea-crop was estimated at 140,390,520 lb., more than 13,000,000 lb. over the actual output of 1894.

The promised Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure consists of Lord Welby, Sir D. M. Stewart, Sir W. Hamilton, Sir J. B. Peile, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir A. R. Scoble, Messrs. L. Courtney, W. L. Jackson, G. N. Curzon, R. H. Knox, G. L. Ryder, T. R. Buchanan. W. S. Caine and Dadahbai Naoroji, with R. T. W. Ritchie as Secretary. In this connexion, we note the return of expenditure on the W. and N. W. Frontier between April 1882 and March 1891: Railways Rs. 7,584,479;—Roads and bridges Rs. 3,772,060;—Military works of all kinds Rs. 10,073,100;—Do. for special defences Rs. 6,606,780;—Expeditions and explorations,

Military Department, Rs. 25,448,120;—Expenditure in Political and other Departments Rs. 753,840;—Afghan Boundary Commissions Rs. 5,09[illegible];—Subsidies Rs. 984,489 (exclusive, of course, of the Afghan subsidy). The total reaches Rs. 128,574,590. The Ghilghit-Hunza-Chilas expenditure, 1890-91, was Rs. 1,031,343. The Report of the Hemp Drugs Commission says that no interference is needed and that the alleged evil results had, as in the case of opium, been much exaggerated. There was a strike of some 3,000 native labourers on the N. S. Railway works at Lahore, ending in their yielding on condition of their "tipping grievance" being investigated,—and we note with pleasure the establishment of a firm of Hindu undertakers at Calcutta for Hindu funerals, the destitute poor being served gratis.

In the NATIVE STATES we have to congratulate H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior on being created a G.C.S.I., an honour well deserved, as he has already shown during the short time since he attained his majority; and the Chief of Chhattarpur, on receiving the personal title of "Maharaja." The Maharaja of Vizagapatam, having given Rs. 10,000 for the Victoria caste and *gosha* Hospital, has received the Queen Empress' thanks through Lord Wenlock. At Hyderabad Mir Kadar Bukhsh, Government Pleader of Patna, has been appointed Chief Justice, and a Hindu has been nominated among the Puisne Judges. A *Panchayat* of officials from Jodhpur, Jeypur, Sarohi, Jesalmir and Bikaner, under the superintendence of a European Political officer, is engaged in settling some mooted boundary questions. The Maharaja of Bhurtpur has been deposed, and sent to Muttra, and declared unfit to reign, but there has been no public trial or investigation, nor has any explanation yet been furnished even to Parliament. Kumar Shri Harbamji of Morvi has been appointed Dewan of Bhurtpur, with a council of regency. The Raja of Bhinga, whose son had committed suicide, has retired to Benares to become an ascetic. A regency has been established in Jamnagar during the minority of the new Jam Sahib.

The exports of BURMA for last year were Rs. 1,38,100,000 against Rs. 118,400,000, but there was a fall in imports from Rs. 100,800,000 to Rs. 96,660,000. Sir F. Fryer held a *durbar* at Taanggyi, which was attended by 50 Shan chiefs, on whom he urged the necessity of public works and the suppression of gambling. It has been announced that Keng-Chung will continue part of the Empire, and will have a garrison, with a resident Political officer. Relatives of the Gurkha Battalion stationed at Mogaung have applied for grants of land on the Upper Irrawadi, to settle upon, evincing a disposition to make that country their home for the future. The Burmo-Chinese telegraph line is completed between Bhamo and Momein.

Regarding AFGHANISTAN, the sole important news this quarter is the visit to England of His Highness the Amirzada Nasrullah Khan, son of the Amir, which will, we trust, cement the Anglo-Afghan alliance.

The CEYLON report for 1893, published very late, shows a fall in the revenues, owing to removal of the direct tax on *paddy*; assets over liabilities, Rs. 1,664,496; imports Rs. 72,340,662; exports Rs. 74,195,367, both

being in excess of those of the previous year. Coffee rose from 43,338 cwts. to 55,423, and tea from 72,279,985 lb. to 82,269,533. For 1894 the imports are Rs. 78,113,022—an increase of Rs. 433,055; exports Rs. 79,723,590; the balance of trade being Rs. 1,610,528 in favour of Ceylon. The inspector of the pearl-fisheries reports that there are no good oysters on the old beds, nor likely ones on the new beds, which means that the pearl fisheries will be unproductive for several years. A new cable has been successfully laid between the island and India.

The tardy report for the STRAITS' SETTLEMENT for 1893 shows progress but notes the system of Education as defective. A petition has been sent to Parliament against the appropriation of revenue (for Imperial Defence) against the vote of the Governor and Council. The SIAM report for 1893 says vessels frequenting Bangkok rose from 285 in 1892 to 577, and the tonnage increased 277,530, or 132 per cent. In spite of the check caused by the French war, imports were £2,259,078, an increase of £1,000,000; exports, £4,457,114. Two sons of the Siamese king and a son of Prince Damrong have arrived in Europe. The Anglo-French boundary commission separated, after about 2½ months' work, much friction having existed owing to the establishment by the French of posts on the Mekong, one for 150 troops, beside Keng-tung. HONG KONG has petitioned Parliament for some measure of representative government, a difficult thing to grant when the disproportion of adult males is 160 Chinese to 1 European. There have again been a few cases of plague.

JAPAN has deposed the English language from the first place, which it held, and has bracketed it with French in the second place, *vice* German promoted to the first. Peace has been finally concluded between JAPAN and CHINA. The chief terms are: (1) Korean independence of China; (2) Cession of territory—(*a*) part of the province of Feng-tien, with its islands, (*b*) Formosa and its islands, (*c*) the Pescadores group; 3. The frontier to be delimitated by a joint commission;—4. An indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, in 8 instalments, carrying interest at 5 per cent.;—5. Freedom for the inhabitants of ceded districts to withdraw;—6. A new commercial treaty to be concluded immediately, pending which Japan gains access to 4 more ports where she may appoint consuls, and may navigate the Upper Yangtze and Woosung rivers and the canals, besides concessions for inland trade, industries and factories;—7. Chinese territory to be evacuated within 3 months, except—8. Wei-hei-wei, which, while the civil administration remains in Chinese hands, will be held by a Japanese brigade, of the expenses of which China will pay ½;—9. Release of prisoners of war, with guarantee against ill-treatment. The cession of the Lao-tung peninsula has been obviated by the joint intervention of France, Germany and Russia.

The wonderful vitality of CHINA is shown in Mr. Kopsch's Trade report for 1894: in spite of plague, floods, typhoons and war, her trade was Tls. 290,207,433 against 267,995,130 in 1893;—gross revenue 22,523,600, against 21,989,300, with an increase in every branch except Indian opium. Import duties increased Tls. 461,100, export 281,500, coast trade duties 35,000, and tonnage dues 78,500. Her continued impracticability is

evinced by renewed attacks on the English, American, Canadian and French missions at Cheng-tu, Kia-ting, Yu-chin, Ping Shan and Sing-chin. She enters on a new phase, too, in having her loan of £16,000,000 floated by Russia, at Paris, under a guarantee on the Treaty Ports customs.

In RUSSIAN ASIA commissions are investigating the loss of Rbls. 5,000,000 in Siberian Railways; extensive gold fields are reported in the Bokhara Khanate; and it has been decided to extend the Transcaspian railway to Uru Tubé, with an immediate increase of forces in Ferghana. The Convention regarding the Pamirs gives the 1873 boundary detailed thus: The Oxus from Wood's (Victoria) Lake westwards; eastwards the mountain crest to Bendersky and Ortabel passes, thence to the Aksu near Kizil Rabat or another point to be fixed southward, and thence again to the Chinese frontier. Details were to be fixed by a mixed commission, our side consisting of Cols. Gerard and Holdich, Major Wahab, Dr. Alcock, some surveyors, and Capt. MacSweeny in command of 10 Persian and Pushtu-speaking Pathans as an escort. Some hitch delays their start.

In PERSIA, the Shiraz merchants suspended business, owing to an increase of duty on opium, till the government yielded to their demands; and disturbances have occurred at Kuchan owing to pressure in collecting taxes: the Lieutenant-Governor, Ramzan Khan Mustaufi was slain with six followers, and the governor was forced to fly.

The Armenian troubles still continue in TURKEY; the report of the Commission of investigation is not yet published; a joint demand for a detailed reform, presented by the English, French and Russian ambassadors at Constantinople, has not been entirely accepted though it has not been positively refused; but several imprisoned Armenian ecclesiastics have been set free. A Russian Archæological Institute has been opened at Constantinople for the study of Byzantine Art, History, etc. A murderous attack made by Bedouins at Jeddah resulted in the death of the British Vice-Consul and the wounding of the British Consul, the Russian Acting-Consul, and the French Consular Secretary.

In CYPRUS the war against the locusts cost last year £4,802.

In EGYPT, H.H. the Khedive has approved of Mr. Garstin's scheme for reorganizing the *Tanzim* for repairs for public buildings, roads and canals, and also a law for equalizing the land tax on a rental value to be fixed by a mixed commission. The conscription has been extended to Cairo, Alexandria and other hitherto exempted towns. Prof. Petrie has discovered traces of a hitherto unknown race in the remains of the 2nd Ombi. The Suez Canal returns for 1894 give vessels 3,352 (2,386 British),—tonnage 8,039,175,—dues paid frcs. 73,776,827, dividend 52.96 frcs. net. MOROCCO has purchased Cape Juby from the English Co. for £50,000; and the Sultan was said to have asked for Indo-Muhammadan Officers to reorganize his army. Much brigandage and inter-tribal war were reported. On the Niger, the recent concessions to the French instead of ensuring peace have led to fresh complications.

A return for 1893 gives the revenue of ST. HELENA at £8,546 (increase of £850), expenditure £7,637; the surplus of £909 has wiped away all past deficits.

Sir Hercules Robinson has assumed office as Governor of CAPE COLONY.

For the quarter ending March 31, imports were £3,500,000,—exports £3,750,000,—rebate trade to the Transvaal, £788,745: an all round increase over last year's returns. For 1894, the revenue was £5,360,000, and expenditure £5,162,000, being respectively £168,000 and £20,000 over the estimates. The surplus was £198,000. This year's estimates are revenue £5,214,000, expenditure £5,183,000, surplus £31,000.

In NATAL the revenue exceeded the estimate by £36,000—the total at credit being £600,000. The protectorate of British Bechuanaland has been annexed to Cape Colony, and Amatongaland by the Administrator of Zululand. While President Reitz of the Orange Free State has been visiting Europe for the sake of his health, the Volksraad have protested against the recent British annexations and have declared themselves prepared to consider any project of Federation with the TRANSVAAL, where Genl. Joubert has routed and killed the Chief Magoeba, and ended the rebellion at Zoutspansburg. The import of British silver is prohibited. The Portuguese have defeated the native forces that had attacked them at LOURENÇO MARQUES. Major Von Wissmann has been appointed Governor of GERMAN EAST AFRICA *vice* Baron Schele. The UGANDA protectorate occupy forts at Kachuma's s. of Kafu River, Baranwa on the Kafu, Horima near Kabarega's old Capital, Kitahwa near and Kabiro and Mahaje Kahin on the Albert Lake, besides Usungara and Toru, outside the protectorate, but necessary for its safety. In MADAGASCAR, there has been some fighting, little progress and much sickness among the French troops, while the Malagasy are splitting up into parties.

The imports of wines from AUSTRALIA, first quarter of 1895, were 145.818 gallons, against 98,165 in 1894. For 1894, the total imports for all Australia (W. Australia excluded) were £46,500,000; exports, £61,000,000; total external trade, £107,500,000. The demand for wool, meat, leather, butter and cheese, fruits, tinned goods, potatoes, rabbit-skins and red-gum wood was increasing, especially in the new markets of the East.

In NEW SOUTH WALES, the revenue for 1893 4 was £2,130,640; customs increased £14,000, water-rates £27,000, sewerage rates £4,000, stamps £10,000, railways £3,000; but land rates diminished £100,000. Viscount Hampden is appointed Governor General. In S. AUSTRALIA, Government decided to save £100,000 by abolishing the militia. The revenue for the quarter ending 31-3-95 was £664,000, being a decrease of £31,000: a deficit was expected of £60,000. Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., M.P., is appointed Governor, *vice* the Earl of Kintore. In VICTORIA, Chief Justice Sir J. Madden has been acting as Governor till the arrival of Lord Brassey. The revenue for the quarter was £1,757,000 (£18,000 over the estimate, but a decrease of £123,000 over the corresponding quarter of the previous year). A deficit is anticipated of £110,000. The quarter's revenue in QUEENSLAND was £2,563,900 (increase of £56,000); expenditure was lessened by £48,400. A fresh industry has been started in silk cocoons from eggs procured from Italy. WEST AUSTRALIAN revenue to 31 March 1895 was £1,019,947—an increase of £409,030. The expenditure was £818,890, an increase of £166,760. Surplus £229,070; total cash in Treasury £507,930. The revenue for the quarter was £335,865, against

£179,597 in 1894. In TASMANIA the revenue showed an increase of £25,000. In NEW ZEALAND, the receipts were £4,406,515; expenditure £4,266,722; surplus £139,793; this, with £290,738 in hand before, gives a total of £430,031, out of which £250,000 go to aid public works, and the balance of £180,000 is passed on to the credit of the next year's budget. The Hon. Mr. Ward has concluded with Canada a treaty for facilitating reciprocity.

CANADA has done another good turn to all our Colonies by securing from the Imperial Government a formal declaration that one part of the Empire as regards another part is not a "third Power," under the "most favoured nation" clause of the Canadian-French treaty. A memorial statue to Sir John Thompson has been unveiled amid general rejoicing:—the Memorial fund exceeded $36,000, to which the Dominion Parliament added $25,000. The Budget statement for 1894-5 gives revenue $33,800,000; expenditure $38,300,000: deficit $4,500,000;—and the estimates for 1895-6 are revenue $35,000,000; expenditure $33,000,000; deficit $1,700,000. The duty on sugar and spirits is increased. The Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic reports against total prohibition as impracticable, and likely to cause great evils, but urges the restriction of licenses to places where meals are eaten, and only for *bonâ-fide* eaters. The Manitoban School difficulty is enhanced by the refusal of the local government to accept the decision of the Dominion Government. Fresh salmon from British Columbia has reached London safe in refrigerators, viâ Australia. The seal question still causes trouble,—Canada protests against the United States' proposal for a Conference to prohibit pelagic seal-fishing: Canada's share of the Behring Sea Arbitration comes to $131,191 = £27,800. The expenses of the Canadian Pacific Railway exceeded the income by $526,731. No site can be got in the Hawaian group suitable for the proposed new Pacific cable; but Fanning Island is said to be the best available place. An Imperial Inter-Departmental Committee of the Treasury, Post Office and Colonial Office have at present under consideration the concrete recommendations of the recent Ottawa Inter-Colonial Conference, with reference to Inter-Colonial and Inter-Imperial routes for Mails, Telegraphs and Steamers. Anticosti Island, at the mouth of the S. Lawrence River, is said to have been bought by a French syndicate—a matter of much more than local importance.

The financial crisis in NEWFOUNDLAND is, at the last moment, partially alleviated by a loan in London, on the security of the customs, the promise of vigorous retrenchment by ministers and a voice given to the syndicate of the loan in the affairs of the Colony. An attempt to enter the Canadian Confederation once looked promising; but it failed, chiefly owing to the point-blank refusal of the Imperial Government, through the Colonial Office, to give any pecuniary or other aid or to incur any responsibility whatever. All that Britain did was to send Sir Herbert Murray as Imperial Commissioner, with £15,000 to draw upon, for aiding cases of urgent distress. Canada naturally declined to accept the responsibility of all Newfoundland's debt; and England very unnaturally declined to undertake that of even £1,000,000.

OBITUARY.—This quarter records the following deaths:—Mrs. Martin Gubbins, relict of the Financial Commissioner of Lucknow during the Mutiny, and nurse of the wounded in that heroic struggle;—H. H. Hayter, C.M.G., Govt. Statist of Victoria;—Field Marshal Sir Patrick Grant, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (Maharajpur, both Sikh wars, and Mutiny);—Capt. Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., who served in India and S. Africa and was Agent General in London for Cape Colony;—Dr. Burjorji Ardeshir Spencer, Indian Medical Service;—Mirza Abbas Ali, sometime Municipal Engineer of Lucknow;—Lt.-Gen. Sir G. T. Chesney, R.E., K.C.B. (Mutiny and Burma wars), member of the Viceroy's Council, M.P.;—C. Gonne, C.S.I., late Secretary to the Government, and Member of Council, Bombay;—Admiral Lord Alcester (wars with Burma, 1852, Russia 1854, New Zealand, and Egypt 1882);—Lt.-Gen. H. Nott (Cuddapa Mutiny 1827, Burmese war 1852, and Mutiny);—Surg.-Gen. S. M. Pelly, C.B., F.R.C.S. (Scindh, Mutiny and Abyssinia campaigns);—Raja Muhammad Ali Khan of Hasanpur;—H. B. Grigg, C.I.E., Resident at Travancore;—W. M. Molle, C.S.I., late Judge at Madras;—Dy. Surg. Gen. S. S. Skipton, M.D. (Crimea and Mutiny);—the Dutch Orientalist, Dr. Peter John Veth;—Col. F. D. Battye, Capts. C. R. Ross, J. MacD. Baird, and A. L. Peebles, on service on the frontier;—Maj.-Gen. J. N. Crealock, C.B. (Mutiny, Kaffir, Zulu and Egyptian campaigns);—the Very Rev. Mgr. Vistarini, for 50 years a missionary in Ceylon;—Dastur Behramji Jamaspji Jamaspasana, Parsi high priest at Secundrabad;—Sir W. Milne, one of the pioneers of S. Australia;—H.H. the senior Dowager Rani of Ramnad;—H.H. the Jam Sahib of Jamnagar;—the most Rev. Nicholas Pagani, S. J. Bishop of Mangalore;—Viscount Inouye, late Minister of Public Education in Japan;—Miss Josephine Bartlett, for 20 years with the Universities' Mission in Central Africa;—Rao Bahadur Runchorlal Kapurchand Desai, Dy. Registrar of the Bombay High Court;—Khan Bahadur Sayad Ali Hassan, Revenue member of the Rampur Council;—Gen. Baron de Tessier, Bengal R.A. (both Sikh wars);—Maj.-Gen. C. H. Gordon, C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny);—Raja Shiva Prasad Sahib, C.S.I., of Benares Educational Department;—Gen. J. Theophilus Lane, C.B. (1st Afghan, Maharajpur and both Sikh wars);—His Majesty Abu Bakr Sultan of Johore, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.;—the Right Hon. Viscount Gough (China and India) son of Lord Gough of the Sutlej;—the Most Rev. Leo Meurin, S.J., formerly of Bombay, then Archbishop Bishop of Port Louis, Mauritius;—Lt.-Gen. Sir C. C. Fraser, V.C., K.C.B. (Mutiny and Abyssinia); Sir S. Wilson, sometime of the Victorian Legislative Council;—Javdet Pasha, a high official of the Turkish Cabinet;—Genl. Baj Singh, of the Kashmir Service, in the Chitrál operations;—the Rev. W. J. Rebsch of Simla;—Maj. Genl. Sir James Johnstone, K.C.S.I. (Mutiny and Bhutan campaigns, and Political Agent of Manipur);—Maj. Genl. C. A. B. Gordon (Punjab, 1848 and Crimea);—Sir R. G. C. Hamilton, K.C.B., sometime Governor of Tasmania;—Sir W. C. S. Vesey Fitzgerald, [illegible];—Sir Joseph Needham, late Chief Justice of Vancouver;—and His Honour J. F. Tom, senior Judge of Huron.

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"THE INDIAN MONETARY PROBLEM."

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Eighteen months ago, after placing before the readers of this Review a brief statement of the Indian Monetary Problem, I urged that, in order to give full effect to the decision of Lord Herschell's Committee, the manner in which gold was to replace silver, which had by the closure of the mints ceased to be the common measure of value in India, should be definitely settled, the gold rate to be adopted for the Rupee and the gold security by which that rate was to be maintained being fixed by legislative enactment. Nothing, however, has yet been done: there has been a policy of drift; of waiting for something to turn up; of letting the Rupee shake down at a chance monopoly value though its value must certainly be influenced by the law regulating the standard. The authorities at the India Office and in Calcutta, profiting by the bitter experience of the last half of 1893, have indeed been wise enough to turn a deaf ear to the Indian Currency Association which urged that a Government can by manipulation make its currency of what value it pleases and that such manipulation is expedient. But though Sir Henry Fowler from his place in Parliament said last year, that "sooner or later, perhaps the sooner the better, India must come to have a gold standard," Sir James Westland, so far from endorsing this statement, has recently qualified his own assertion, "that the policy of closing the mints is still the policy of the

Government," by adding that "it is possible that we may find some relief in measures taken by or in concert with some of these nations" (America, Germany and England) for the restoration of the value of silver. It is submitted that the further delay which must result from this dallying with bimetallism must be harmful and that India should, without further hesitation, continue the course, in the direction of a gold standard, on which she has embarked.

If there were any reasonable probability of a Bimetallic agreement *at such a ratio as would permanently improve the gold value of the Rupee*, there might be some justification for Sir James Westland's expectant attitude. But, until the importance of the ratio as a factor in bimetallism is generally admitted, it cannot be too often repeated, that the ratio is the essence of the whole matter. If there were a bimetallic agreement among the leading nations at some ratio not less favourable to silver than say 23·6 to 31 (which would represent the Rupee at 15 pence and silver at 40·36d. per oz.), and if, as with a ratio approximating that instanced, it seems probable would be the case, the agreement could practically be maintained for a long term of years, there would be a stable exchange between India and the present gold and silver using countries without further trouble. India would join in the scramble for gold, which would become keener according as the ratio was fixed more favourably to silver,* and she might be trusted to safeguard her own interests as a partner in the new convention. But with a ratio less favourable to silver—with a ratio of say 29·2 to 1, representing the Rupee at one shilling and silver at 32¼d. per oz. (a ratio more favourable to silver than is warranted by its present price) —though a stable exchange would probably be secured it would be at a lower rate than has yet been reached: and, independently of other considerations, the loss to the State

* At the ratio of 15½ to 1 for instance, it is believed that silver would be so much overvalued as to lead to India at once changing the bulk of its silver hoards into gold.

by the increased cost of remitting its sterling obligations would be intensified. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the prospect of an international agreement on this all important subject of the ratio; but few well informed persons will deny that, although we are assured by the leading advocates of bimetallism in the United States of America and France that nothing but a ratio of 16, or 15½, to 1 will satisfy them, any remote chance there may be of Great Britain and Germany joining in an agreement is confined to a ratio nearly approaching the gold value of silver at the present time. When then there is so little prospect of agreement, when the only chance of the consent of two at least of the dominant partners in the agreement being obtained is a ratio little if at all more favourable to the Rupee than that which prevails at present, it is difficult to see why India should wait.

It is often assumed that because the closure of the mints was followed by a great fall in the gold value of silver, its effect on general commercial interests was disastrous. I think that inasmuch as it led to the immediate removal of an artificial prop, by which the value of silver was being maintained above its real value, the measure was beneficial. The prop which kept up the value of silver was not, as may at first sight have appeared, the demand for Indian currency. It has been conclusively shown that the demand for the Indian mints was really for hoards and ornaments which reached their destination through the Indian currency.* The closure of the channel by which this demand was satisfied, and possibly the knowledge that silver was no longer the real standard metal of the country, have discouraged its absorption; but notwithstanding this, the net imports of silver into India in the year ending March 1895 were over 27,000,000 oz.—an amount, though less than the

* Mr. F. C. Harrison, working on the figures of the annual Rupee censuses which have been taken since 1876 estimates the increase to the actual Rupee circulation in British India during that period at 13 crores of Rupees, while the net imports of silver amounted to 164 crores.

net imports of the immediately preceding years, yet in excess of those of 1886-87 and of the previous average.* The main prop which was removed was the purely artificial demand for an article not wanted created by the action of the American legislature. The course of American politics is so uncertain that it is impossible to say whether the purchases of silver under the Sherman Act would have continued until the present time if the closure of the Indian mints had not precipitated President Cleveland's action. But under the light of recent events it can hardly be doubted that if these purchases had gone on, even a Morgan-Rothschild group could not have prevented gold going to a premium in the terms of the currency of the United States—a result which would have been followed by widespread commercial disaster. The repeal of the Sherman Act would inevitably have ensued, and with it there would, I believe, even if the Indian mints had remained open, have been as great a fall in the gold value of silver as has actually occurred. If the closure of the mints did nothing else it, at any rate, led to the prompt stoppage of an unreal demand for silver—an unreal demand which gave it a fictitious value, and which, like all other unreal demands, was bound to end sooner or later in a fall rather than in a rise in the value of the commodity bolstered up.

* The following shows the annual net imports of silver into India since 1872. It is instructive to see that only in the year 1893-94 did India absorb as much as 54,000,000 ounces, the quantity purchased annually by the United States under the Sherman Act.

NET IMPORTS OF SILVER INTO INDIA.

1872-73 to 1885-86 annual average	22,804,000 oz.
1886-87	26,834,000 ,,
1887-88	34,608,000 ,,
1888-89	34,675,000 ,,
1889-90	41,017,000 ,,
1890-91	53,457,000 ,,
1891-92	32,349,000 ,,
1892-93	45,523,000 ,,
1893-94	54,329,000 ,,
1894-95	27,040,000 ,,

And the position of India would have been much worse than it is now. Whatever evils result from a fall in, and from the uncertainty of, exchange would have been intensified. The stability of her standard of valuation would have been menaced by a mass of silver hoarded in the state vaults at Washington which was of no use as currency, and which had been proved to be an inefficient security for monetary obligations.

The closure of the Indian mints, though unaccompanied by any definite announcement or at any rate by any statutory provision as to what was aimed at in the future, accompanied in the first instance by mismanagement so gross as to have brought the Indian Exchequer,—according to the views of responsible statesmen,—within the verge of bankruptcy—has done something towards steadying the gold value of the Rupee.* The lowest price it has reached is 12·4d.—its value on the 23rd of January, 1895; while the highest price reached, after the influence on the market caused by the stoppage of the sale of Council Bills had been removed, was 13·8d. on the 29th of August, 1894:—a difference of 1·4d. in the Rupee it is true; but a small difference compared to the differences in the past.

A strong testimony to the wisdom of the closing of the Indian mints, so far as India is concerned, is afforded by that sensitive barometer, the London Stock Exchange. Before the mints were closed the difference between the yield to the investor in the sterling and in the Rupee securities of the Government of India was nearly ¾ per cent.: it is now only about a quarter per cent. Some part of the improvement in the value of the Rupee securities is due to the fact that they are now guaranteed against repayment before the expiration of 10 years, whereas the old Rupee loans were repayable at 3 months' notice: but even allowing for this it must be admitted that the monopoly Rupee has proved itself to be on the London Stock

* With open mints, and at the present price of silver, the Rupee would be worth about 11⅜d. instead of more than 13¼d., its exchange value.

Exchange a better basis for security than the free silver coin. What will be the view when the Government has absolutely pledged itself by legislative enactment to place the Rupee on a gold basis?

Though stability between English and Indian money will not be reached until exchange can be adjusted by the remittance of a precious metal which is the common measure of value in the two countries, the nearer the prospect there is of such a state of things arising, the greater will be the stability. And if a reasonable plan for putting the money of India on a gold basis were announced, a plan which could be carried out by ordinary commercial action, and which were made independent of the volition of Government, it would very materially help to secure its fulfilment.

The most important point for settlement—the point on which the success of any measure for placing Indian money on a gold basis must depend—is the gold value to be assigned to the unit of account called the Rupee by which all transactions have been in the past, are now, and will continue to be, reckoned. No forecast as to its value can be made until it is known how much gold the Rupee is to represent. Just as when arrangements were made for resuming specie payments in England in 1816 it was necessary absolutely to fix the weight and fineness of sovereigns which Bank notes were to represent, so it is necessary now to absolutely determine the weight and fineness of gold to be indicated by the Rupee. It will be remembered that, on the recommendation of Lord Herschell's committee, a major gold limit of 16 pence was adopted for the Rupee. This was, however, avowedly only a temporary rate, and it was fixed by the Executive Government, and not by Statute. Although it is to be regretted that Lord Herschell's Committee did not assume the responsibility of making a permanent recommendation on this important subject, their action (as the major temporary limit has never been reached) may be attended with the undoubted advantage that the final proposals of the Government will receive full

discussion and criticism before they become law. The gold value of the Rupee should not be fixed too high. The lower it is placed the easier will it be for the parity, between the Rupee unit and the gold which it represents, to be secured; the nearer the existing rate it is the less will prices and trade be disturbed; the smaller the necessary excess of the nominal over the intrinsic value of the token the less danger of fraudulent imitation; the smaller the difference between the nominal value of the Rupee and the market value of the silver contained in it the less will the holders of the uncoined silver in India (weighing perhaps 350 crores of Rupees) appear to suffer by the change. Nearly three years ago, before the mints were closed, I advocated that, in changing the standard of India from silver to gold, the Rupee should be taken as representing fifteen pennyworth of gold, and, though at the time I was severely criticised by some for suggesting a remedy which, it was said, would, even if successful, be no remedy at all, yet so far as can be judged from what has occurred since the closure of the mints, this rate did not err in being too low. Whether, if this rate had been adopted as a permanent basis, and if a plan had been prescribed by law which might have rendered a settlement on this basis possible by the ordinary operations of trade, the Rupee would by this time have risen to the suggested gold value, it is not possible to say. But it is certain that the process was hindered by the attempt to force a rate on the market, and by the absence of any definite scheme, or even of any definite policy on this subject.

And this brings us to the consideration of the very important point as to how the attainment and maintenance of the gold parity—let us say 15 pence—are to be secured. Some people are still foolish enough to think that the Secretary of State by the mere announcement of a parity and his determination not to sell Bills below it can fix the gold value of the Rupee. They are not worth arguing with. But there are others who would be satisfied with the

approach to parity which might perhaps be secured by manipulating the quantity of Rupee currency. This would, however, be open to many grave objections. If India is to have a gold standard let it be one, not merely in name, but in deed and in truth. There appear to be only two practical ways of securing this. *First:* The gradual introduction of a gold currency suitable to the people of India and the supersession by it of a certain portion of the existing Rupee currency. *Second:* The maintenance of the established parity for the existing Rupee currency by arrangements for converting what may not be required for purposes of circulation at that parity, into the standard commodity, gold; and similarly for converting the standard commodity, gold, into silver Rupee currency. Sir David Barbour advocates the first course; and it would certainly be the best, if there were no question of expense, if there were no doubt as to the sufficiency of the stock of gold in the world, and if it were certain that gold coins would remain in circulation at the parity selected. But it has never been shown that the second course would not effectively maintain the gold value of the silver Rupee. It would require less gold; it would adapt itself more readily to the gradual change; and the introduction of a gold currency, if this were eventually determined on, would be facilitated by the gradual accumulation of gold in support of the existing Rupee currency and by the maintenance of the gold parity which would result from an accumulation of gold sufficient to secure the convertibility of redundant Rupees.

Some plan, then, should be settled by law for the gradual acquisition of a gold reserve. Undoubtedly the best, if not the only practical, basis for the operation must be the Indian Paper Currency Department, whose stores of silver, which are as useless, with a gold standard, as the silver at Washington, should be gradually changed to gold. And as far as possible the conditions under which that gold should be made available for securing the note issues of the Government, and at the same time for upholding the gold value of

the Rupee currency, should be now fixed,—as little discretion as need be being given to the Executive.

An obvious plan for securing this is, for the Paper Currency Department to accept gold at the rate determined, as part of its metallic reserve, and not to re-issue it until such time as the gold rate shall be permanently maintained. The amount of Rupee coinage might also be made to depend, instead of as it does at present on the action of the Government,* on the relative proportions of gold and silver in the metallic reserve of the Paper Currency Department. The law would, of course, be inoperative, and no gold would come into the Currency Department at all, and there would be no increase to the Rupee coinage, until the exchange value of the Rupee had reached 15 pence: but it is none the less necessary that the prospective arrangements should now be authoritatively settled; and their authoritative settlement would, it is believed, assist in gradually raising the value of the Rupee to the required level. It is very difficult to say how the gold value of the Rupee is now determined. Opinions differ as to the manner in which the precious metals, with free open mints, operate as common measures of value. But all will admit, that with mints closed and with coinage a monopoly of the Government, the quantity of coins in circulation is a most important factor in regulating their value. And the gold value of the monopoly rupee must, therefore, largely depend on the quantity in circulation. The value of gold itself,—in terms of commodities generally,—is another factor of equal importance. Until, therefore, there is either a diminution in the quantity of Rupees circulating compared with the wants of the community, resulting in a fall in Rupee prices, and an increase in the purchasing power of

* It is quite unlikely that anything of the sort will happen; but as the law at present stands, the Government has the power to coin Rupees on its own account, netting the difference between their intrinsic and market value, and thus depreciating the value of its monopoly coins. This is, to use Sir James Westland's words, "opposed to the simplest canons of Currency."

the monopoly Rupee; or until there is a fall in the value of gold in terms of commodities generally, and a decrease in the purchasing power of gold, there will be no very material change in the gold value of the monopoly Rupee. Though there are indications that the coined Rupees in circulation are in excess of the requirements of the country for exchange transactions at the prices which were in force when the mints were closed,* it would be undesirable to attempt to raise the purchasing power of the Rupee by withdrawing any from circulation. But if, as there are also strong indications, there is a gradual decrease in the purchasing power of gold generally and a gradual rise in gold prices, it must act on the gold value of commodities in India and thus, gradually, on the value of the monopoly Rupee, without causing any disturbance of trade, or hardship to the people of India. And this seems to be the solution of the difficulty which is at once most desirable and most probable.

There are two other factors on which the gold value of the Rupee may depend, to which it is right to allude. The gold value of the Rupee can of course never fall below the intrinsic gold value of the silver contained in it. But notwithstanding the prophecies which were freely made before the closure of the mints, that the Rupee could not be maintained above its bullion value, even in India where a 5 per cent. import duty has protected silver, the Rupee has always, since the closure of the mints, been worth at least ten per cent. more than the bullion of which it was composed. There is a connexion between the market price of silver and the value of the Rupee: but it is a connexion between its price as an ordinary commodity and not as the metal of which the money of the country happens to be made. This factor, then, has not hitherto operated. But whether, with the rise in gold prices which has already

* Mr. F. C. Harrison, in his review of the last Census, estimates that since the mints were closed there has been an expansion of the circulation to the extent of 3 crores.

occurred, and which will, it is believed, influence silver like any other commodity, it may not operate later on, it is impossible to predict.

The other factor to which reference has been made is the prospect of the Rupee ultimately acquiring an increased gold value owing to the operation of any or all of the foregoing causes. But to give full play to this factor,—to enable it to operate apart from speculation,—it is necessary that the intentions of the State regarding the future of the Rupee should be definitely announced and made sure by legislative enactment.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has been bold enough to suggest that it is not the duty of the State to interfere in any way with the Currency of a country, but that it should be left to individual discretion. But it seems to me certain that if there is one thing more than another in which State intervention is necessary, it is the authoritative declaration of the commodity which shall ordinarily be the basis of monetary contracts, and in terms of which exchanges, unless otherwise specially provided for, are to be carried out; and it is the duty of the State to see that the interests of the community at large, and especially of those who, by their position, are least able to look after their own, are safe-guarded in this important particular.

With the best possible intentions on the part of those responsible for the Government of India, the interests of the community have not hitherto been protected in this matter. Years ago, when the action of Germany, the States comprising the Latin Union, and the United States of America showed that, in their opinion at least, silver could no longer be relied on as the standard of value, India should have followed suit instead of being allowed to become the dumping ground for the silver of the world. In the mere matter of exchanging, by means of their silver Rupee money, the commodities of India for those of other countries, our Indian fellow subjects have no doubt been able to hold their own; but when they have taken, as they

have done very largely, the commodity silver in adjustment of the balance due to them; taken it not like a perishable article for consumption, but as a store of value; they have unwittingly been worsted: for they have taken a commodity which in the markets of the world is relatively much less valuable than the commodity gold, which they might, if they had been far-seeing enough, have taken in its place. And the community generally has suffered by the increased cost at which the sterling obligations of the State have had to be remitted. It is easy, however, to be wise after the event; and probably no one of those who, twenty or thirty years ago, advocated the introduction of a gold standard into India, understood the real facts of the case. But there is no room now for further hesitation. It is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to go on with the scheme which, after careful enquiry, was recommended by a Committee, composed of experts of different shades of opinion, but several of whom, it may be remarked, had by their previous utterances showed that they were opposed to the action which they felt themselves compelled to recommend. It is their duty to do this with sole regard to the interests of India: unmindful of the wishes of any section of their supporters, but taking as their key-note the duty to India so forcibly expressed by Sir Henry Fowler when he said that every member of the House of Commons is a member for India.

INDIA: PAST AND PRESENT.

By J. D. Rees, C.I.E.

Astonishing assertions have been made in recent years to the effect that India has retrograded under British rule, that the agricultural—the backbone and the enormously preponderating—class of the population, have become poorer than they were under previous governments, and that a specious surface progress has only served to conceal the rotten condition of the inner core of the country. In 1890, Lord Connemara, then Governor of Madras, anxious to discover what truth, if any, there might be in such assertions and desirous of collecting evidence, if such existed, to prove the contrary, entrusted to the Honble. Dewan Bahadur Srinavasa Raghava Iyengar, C.I.E., the task of examining whether, so far as his Presidency was concerned, the economic condition of the people had improved or deteriorated during the last 40 or 50 years of British administration. No better selection could have been made and Mr. Srinavasa Raghava has just published the results of his enquiries in a somewhat bulky Blue-book. The author, with whom I was in some measure associated in the inception and the execution of his work, has permitted me to use it, for the purpose of representing in a brief article, for popular reading, the main facts of the interesting problem with which it deals. Though an annual Blue-book is presented to Parliament, exhibiting the progress of India, no enquiry exactly on the lines laid down by Lord Connemara has been made in regard to provinces other than Madras. It may however be safely stated, that the condition of other parts of India was as bad as that of the Madras Presidency when the English undertook the task of introducing into them law and order and a settled administration, and that no less a measure of success has attended the no less conscientious efforts of all the administrations in this Continent, which it may not be superfluous

to remark is divided not into three Presidencies but into eight separate Governments, which, possessed of slightly varying degrees of independence, are all alike subject to the Supreme control of the Governor General in Council. If an advance is proved to have taken place in Madras, it may with confidence be asserted, that no less progress has been made in the richer and more populous provinces of Bengal and the North West Provinces and Oudh, in the in some respects more favourably situated Presidency of Bombay and Sind, in the frontier country of the Punjab, and in the different territories of the minor administrations.

I propose to take Mr. Srinavasa Raghava as my chief guide not only in respect of many of my facts, but also in my method of presenting them to the British public. Let us consider then in the first place

The state of the country and the condition of the people in Southern India in the centuries which preceded the advent of British rule. The researches of the late Dr. Burnell, and the compilations of Mr. Sewell of the evidence afforded by ancient inscriptions, show that the small kingdoms of the Peninsula for ages waged continual war one against the other up till the foundation, in the 14th century, of the now almost forgotten Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan. The works of Ferishta, which I studied while writing a brief history of the Mahomedan epoch of Indian history, show that in the 17th century the state of the country was one of bloodshed and violence, of plague, pestilence and famine; and records exist, many of which have been published by the Hakluyt Society, showing that a state of peace was wholly exceptional. In the 16th century the only powerful Hindu kingdom in the peninsula was overwhelmed by the Mahomedans and heartrending accounts of the sufferings of the people can be read in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries who lived in Madura in the 17th century, who were themselves persecuted by the Hindus as the cause of the calamities brought upon the country by the offended gods. It may be remarked that

the "*Hindu*" the leading native paper in S. India repudiates the evidence of Christian missionaries, "whose judgment is warped by a conviction that a non-Christian people cannot be prosperous or happy." But before the supremacy of the Mahomedans the Hindu kings of the Pandiyan house, whose era is looked on as a kind of golden age, burnt, slew and slaughtered, "made the tears of the wives of refractory kings to flow like a river and the sites of palaces, high walls and storied houses to be ploughed with asses and sown with shells." In the beginning of the 17th century on the now thickly populated and well cultivated coast of Tinnevelly, the people dared not move out of their houses at sunset for fear of tigers, and bands of robbers plundered travellers in all directions. At the same time famines and epidemics were of far more frequent occurrence than they now are. In the 15th century two great famines occurred of such severity that "when the Almighty at length showered his mercy on the earth, scarcely any farmers survived to cultivate the lands." The 16th and 17th centuries were marked by famines of only slightly less intensity; and in the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, the price of rice sometimes rose to 64 times the ordinary rate.

Meanwhile the land tax collected by native kings was heavy and oppressive. The Madura Jesuit Mission records state that the Mahrattas exacted no less than four-fifths of the produce; and Sir W. Hunter has shown in his "Orissa" that the land revenue of that province, part of which is included in the most northern of the territories of the Madras Presidency, was three times that collected at present by the British Government, while the purchasing power of silver was eight times what it is at the present day. The Emperor Aurangzebe who collected nothing south of the Vindhya Mountains in 1707 obtained from his Indian provinces a land revenue estimated by Mr. Thomas in his "Revenue resources of the Mogul Empire" at 38¾ millions and a total revenue of 80 millions while the

English collect but Rx. 81½ millions total and 23¾ land revenue on their vastly larger Indian territories. Again the *Hindu* objects that the kings of aforetime invariably pretended to the possession of far greater revenues than they had in order to magnify their importance. The Emperor Akbar, the most liberal and enlightened of Indian kings, laid it down "that there shall be left for every man who cultivates his lands as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped and for that of his family and for seed. Thus much shall be left to him, what remains is the land tax." We learn from the traveller and jeweller Tavernier that in the 17th century forty bitter almonds, which children would not eat or from 50 to 80 shells were equal to a *paisa*, which was the 48th part of a Rupee,—a fairly low standard of value. Meanwhile skilled labourers in the diamond mines at Golconda earned only 2s. 3d. a month. There were no roads and no wheeled traffic in most parts of the country, in the great towns the houses were thatched huts of mud and bamboo. There were no regular courts of justice, the Government interfered with and hampered manufacturers and manufactures and the people generally were oppressed and plundered.*

Next must be considered the condition of the peninsula at the end of the 18th century when most of the provinces of Southern India were acquired by the British. At this time complete anarchy prevailed and incessant war was waged till the death of Aurangzebe, one of whose generals in S. India, according to Colonel Wilks, fought 19 actions and marched 6,000 miles in six months. The Mahrattas, who were now rising to power upon the ruins of the Mogul

* The *Hindu* quotes M. De Lavelye to prove that people can be prosperous in times of war, as they probably were in many parts of mediæval Europe, when war was carried on by mercenaries. But this organ of the Congress party allows "that no Indian of the present day would wish for an exchange to Hindu or Mahomedan rulers, and that it is unnecessary to prove that the Indian people have not been worse off for their passing under the dominance of British power, because no sane person will maintain the contrary."

empire, plundered the peasantry, which had already been stripped of all its belongings by the Mogul collectors. The dispute between the English and French followed; and the saintlike missionary Schwartz describes the exactions of the Nawab of Arcot, the lieutenant of the feeble Mogul at Delhi. He extorted in 1775 from the people of Tanjore double the revenue now raised from that prosperous, fertile and peaceful district; and the share of the produce enjoyed by the *ryot* at this time appears to have been about $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$. Dr. Buchanan, who was not a missionary, records the fact that in 1800 the smallest village was fortified as those of the Turkomans are to-day or were yesterday, and that the peasantry were miserably poor. Bishop Caldwell quotes Colonel Fullarton to prove that in 1801 "reputable farmers were imprisoned and beaten for refusing to accept 9 per cent. as their share of the produce, that 30 tolls were collected in 300 miles and that the renters of the revenue were armed with all the powers of Government." Mr. Brown, Commercial Resident in Malabar says, "Hyder's sole object was to get money, and he was indifferent as to the means by which it was obtained." Tipoo not only plundered and oppressed the inhabitants of the western coast, but forced them to become Mahomedans. Sir Thomas Munro says that in one night he seized 60,000 Christians and sent them into captivity into Mysore, whence one-tenth never returned.

What then was *the condition of the agricultural classes under the British in the first half of the century*, at the commencement of which the English power was fully established in the Madras Presidency? The country was pacified, and the old land assessments were at first continued. They proved however to be too severe, especially under British rule, which collects with unerring exactness and unfailing regularity. Sir Thomas Munro calculated that out of every Rs. 100, the Government got 45 Rs. 12 As., and the expenses of cultivation were Rs. 40 which left only Rs. 14-4-0 for the *ryot*; and he recom-

mended a reduction of the assessment which in 1822 as Governor of Madras he was able to effect. Between 1799 and 1834, five famines occurred. Agricultural depression became more acute, prices fell heavily as production increased, and the Indian currency proved insufficient for the payment in cash of dues which had previously been discharged in grain. It was reported from most of the districts that the condition of the poorer *ryots* was very unsatisfactory and that a large proportion of this class was heavily indebted. Of the cultivators in estates which had been settled upon their owners (*Zemindars*) on condition of the payment of a fixed annual rent to Government, Sir Henry Montgomery wrote that the landholders' management was based on the sole principle of exacting from the *ryots* the uttermost farthing. The Government, in order to improve the condition of the people, abolished transport duties and many other vexatious imposts, relinquished the right held by its predecessors to tax improvements carried out by the *ryot* at his own expense, constructed several magnificent irrigation works, and commenced the systematic construction of roads, of which there were practically none in the country. Between 1823 and 1851 the cost of carrying a ton of merchandize to a town 70 miles from Madras fell from Rs. 17 to Rs. 5. At this time tiled houses and masonry walls were rare; and the earnings of an agricultural labourer amounted to Rs. 20 a year,—the equivalent in real value, taking into account the needs of the Indian and English labourer, of £10, while the latter gets not less than £28 a year. The period then of 20 years from 1834 to 1854 was one of great agricultural depression, while in the preceding 30 years the country was devastated by five successive famines.

From the middle of the century to the present time many important changes have been effected in the condition of the agricultural classes. The discovery of the Californian and Australian gold mines and the Crimean War stimulated Indian trade; large loans were raised in India for public

works and railways; the influx of silver replenished the currency; the land assessments were reduced; and the wages of labour were doubled. In 1870, a reaction set in. Prices unduly inflated began to fall and some distress among small landowners resulted, which was greatly augmented by the famine of 1876-78. Since this time, however, population, cultivation and trade have recovered with astonishing rapidity. In the decade intervening between 1881 and 1891 the population increased by upwards of 15 per cent., the total increase between 1852 and 1891 being 30 per cent. The increase in cultivation between the same years is 25 per cent. in unirrigated lands, 41 per cent. in lands irrigated by Government irrigation works, and 138 per cent. in lands irrigated by private wells.* In all, the percentage of increase in production is probably three or four times that of the increase in population; and that the soil has not been over-cropped is proved by the evidence of agricultural experts, such as Professors Wallace and Voelcker, who have reported for the most part favourably on Indian cultivators and cultivation.

Turning to prices it appears that though after 1870 they fell from the level of 1866 by 20 per cent., they remained twice as high as those of 1853, and 50 per cent. higher than those obtaining in the early part of the century. The improvement in communications has of course had the effect of equalizing prices in different parts of the country and of preventing local scarcities from becoming famines. In 1800, there were practically no roads, and in 1852 but 3,000 miles of bad tracks. There are now 25,000 miles of good road, 2,000 of railway, and 1,500 of canals, in the Madras Presidency, whereby a saving in cost of transit of merchandise of 27,000,000 Rs. is annually effected. Of the existing sea-borne and inland trade nine-tenths have sprung up since 1850, and the cotton

* The last given high percentage has been still further increased by the efforts of the Government of Lord Wenlock, who attaches the greatest importance to the extension of cultivation under wells, which alone is superior to the vicissitudes of seasons.

exports have risen from 21,000,000 to 98,000,000 lbs., while the exporter now, owing to cheaper cost of carriage, gets 66 instead of 31 per cent. of the price for which the product sells in England. An increase of hardly less magnitude is registered in regard to indigo, sugar, piece goods, tobacco, and many other exports. Meanwhile, between 1855 and 1890, the value of sea-borne imports has risen to £9,500,000, while freight per ton of wheat from Calcutta to London has fallen from £5 to £2 2s. 6d. *viâ* the Cape, and £1 10s. *viâ* the Suez Canal, and the cost of carriage per quarter from the Central Provinces to Bombay has gone down from 9s. 8d. per quarter in 1873 to 4s. 11d. in 1887.

It is, however, often asserted that the expansion of foreign trade is enforced and results from the necessity for the payment to England for its services and its loans; and that the population is growing poorer and poorer. In fact, some 21,000,000 Rx.* are annually paid in commodities, of which 11,500,000 is interest on the debt owed by the Government of India, 5,500,000 are paid on account of the Army, 2,500,000 for furlough and pension allowances, and 1,500,000 for stationery, stores, and administration. Now of the total Indian debt (up to 1890) of 201 millions, 122 have been spent on productive public works, and 79 for purposes of general administration, including war and defence. Of the productive public works, the railways would yield a profit but for the loss in exchange; and the number of passengers has increased in ten years from 43 to 104 millions, and the quantity of goods carried from 8,750,000 to 22,500,000 tons. And in regard to internal trade, the benefit resulting from improved communications is enjoyed wholly by India, which also participates largely in the gains of a foreign trade which, between 1834 and 1891, has increased fourteen fold, from Rx. 14,342,290 to Rx. 196,260,382. Again, most of the great irrigation works pay; and though there has been heavy loss in

* Rx. is a conventional symbol for the equivalent of a sum of Rupees converted into sterling at the rate of Rs. 10 = £1.

respect of one or two unfortunate undertakings, the country has indirectly benefited to an enormous extent by those which have proved successful. Within a few years, there can be no doubt, the productive public works as a whole will prove highly remunerative.

The 9,000,000 Rx. remitted for army, pension, and furlough allowances and Home Establishments, have secured that peace and good government, which rendered possible the striking advances illustrated by the statistics I have quoted. Dewan Bahadur Srinavasa Raghava Iyengar says on this subject,

"I have no hesitation in stating that the sacrifices involved in the payment of Home charges are repaid manifoldly by the benefits secured to the country and that if a saving of even a couple of millions, which is perhaps the utmost that could be expected, be effected in these charges, its effect on the foreign trade would hardly be appreciable."

Nor is any proof that India has been impoverished by foreign trade found in the fact that, between 1850 and 1891, nearly 140,000,000 of gold have been imported, to add to its hoards, or for use in ornament and manufactures, while about a quarter of the total annual production of 20,000,000 of gold annually finds its way into that country. Another assertion to the effect that Europeans are driving natives out of the field is palpably unfounded. Even in regard to tea, coffee, cinchona, and the like industries which were started by Europeans, the Indians are now successfully competing, and the great mercantile firms at the Presidency towns and the English Bar and the tradesmen in English goods keenly feel their competition. It is true, of course, that the spinning and weaving trades have suffered and, I think, severely; but the increased employment and wealth resulting from the development of the cotton mill industry, in which 12,000,000 Rx. are invested, more than counterbalances the loss. The work of a mill-hand is congenial to the Indian, and no one who has visited the mills and knows the natives and their habits, can for a moment think they need the protection, or rather the unwelcome interference of factory laws. Besides cotton mills, the jute,

tea, and coal industries are new and important industrial developments.

Turning to *Taxation* the land revenue in 1890 was 5,030,000 Rx. as compared with 4,030,000 Rx. in 1852. Out of the increase of 1 million, nearly half is due to irrigation provided by Government. Holdings in the Presidency have risen from 13 to 21 millions, and the rate paid per acre has fallen from 4s. 9d. to 3s. 9½d. Meanwhile land which was almost unsaleable fetches a fair, and irrigated land, a very high price. The average rates of assessment paid to Government range between one-fourth and one-sixth of the gross outturn of the land after an average deduction of 20 per cent. for vicissitudes of seasons. The salt-tax, it must be admitted, has increased till the price for 82 lbs. which in 1852 was R. 1 has touched Rs. 2-11, which is about 3½ per cent. of the income of a poor family. This tax presses on the lowest classes no doubt, but it is believed that in no other way can the masses of the people be brought within the net of the tax-gatherer.

As regards excise the quantity of spirits made and consumed in the country is 5 per cent. more than that of 1875, since which date the population has increased by 10 per cent. The revenue has risen from ·22 to 1·14 Rx. between 1852 and 1890,—the result not of increase of consumption, but of enhanced taxation. The consumption per head of spirits, wines, and beer is ·044, ·0001, ·025, of a gallon respectively, as against ·96, ·36, 26·80 respectively in England.*

Since 1852, the incidence of taxation per head has risen from Rs. 1-14-6 to Rs. 2-14-3, or 51 per cent., while the purchasing power of money has fallen by 60 per cent., and the expenditure on the public health, safety and convenience has risen from about half a million to upwards of two and a half millions.

* It must be remembered that the Indian masses have always been in the habit of drinking intoxicating fluids. The British public in its ignorance of India, its history, and its literature always takes, as its example, the high caste man who may not drink, or eat meat, who represents an infinitesimal fraction of a vast population.

It remains to consider under this section *the standard of living and condition of the population.* First, the great landowners in the presidency, who were originally assignees of the Government land assessment, now enjoy a rental three times as great as the sum they pay to the State. But the great bulk of the land is held in small properties averaging 8 acres in extent; and it is calculated that a poor farmer with his family can live, as persons in his position of life in India expect to live, for Rs. 9 a month and that the average eight-acre holding will yield him this surplus. When the holding is less the farmer must supplement his earnings, *qua* farmer, by labour for others. The poorest labourer can, I have calculated, subsist with his family on Rs. 4 per month, and men of this class in ordinary years look strong and well nourished.* Of the total revenue of small holdings 17·5 per cent. is contributed by agricultural labourers, who eke out a living by working for others; 27·7 per cent. by peasant proprietors, who can only afford to employ hired labour in harvest time; and 31·4 per cent. by proprietors who farm their own lands by hired labour: the rest either can or do let their holdings to tenants.

It is difficult to compare the wages now given with those obtaining in former days when little money passed, but the pay *plus* food and perquisites of the agricultural labourer of to-day cannot be less than Rs. 60 a year; and his wife, of course, earns something. The lower the caste the less the pay, and the poorest *Pariahs* get about as much for the labour of husband and wife as the *Sudra* labourer will earn with his own hands. The wages of labourers other than agricultural, admit, however, of more exact comparison, and evidences of a general rise abound on every side. The rural labourer now gets not less than 3 *annas* a day as a rule, and the average rate for the whole presidency is 3 *annas* 9 *pies.* These are Mr. Srinavasa's figures; but I believe that in all except the most backward districts

* This fact has to be admitted even by those, who find in it an unwelcome refutation of their theories.

wages rule higher. In that in which I write, an agricultural labourer can with difficulty be got for 4 and an artizan for 8 *annas* a day.* The labouring classes are free to move and emigrate and are fully conscious of their independence. The lowest classes are still very poor but the remedy, as Mr. Srinavasa says, is to be found in educational agencies and I would add in a general advance in material prosperity. Those who advocate grants of land at the expense of the present possessors would only perpetuate pauper cultivation while exciting a happily hitherto unknown antagonism between masses and classes. Among the proofs of an advance in comfort among the people may be instanced the substitution of tiled for thatched houses, the use of better clothing, of more jewellery, of metal cooking-vessels, and the entertainment of more servants than in former days. It is noteworthy that the most thickly populated are also the most prosperous districts,—a certain proof that the increase in the population has not yet begun to press upon the land. Sir James Caird estimated that a gain of one bushel per acre in ten years would meet the demands of the population, if the present rate of growth be maintained. At present, in ordinary seasons, deaths from starvation are unknown, the destitute are supported by their perhaps distant kinsfolk, and the poor generally present an appearance incompatible with insufficient subsistence. The percentage of wealthy persons is, of course, infinitely and immeasurably smaller; yet there are no such ugly facts to face as these,—that 6·3 per cent. of the population receives State aid and that of the poor above 65, 40 per cent. are in the workhouse. Mortality, on the other hand, in South Indian towns is higher than in England, being 29·3 per mille. In rural Madras, however, the rate (22·9) is only slightly above that of London (21), the most healthy of cities.

It remains to briefly refer to *certain alleged evils in*

* The latest official returns from all districts in the Madras Presidency give an average of Rs. 5-6-11, and of Rs. 4-15-3 per month as the wage of the able-bodied agricultural labourer in urban and rural tracts respectively. This is a positively high wage compared with the 11s. and 12s. of Essex and Herefordshire.

the present economic position and suggested remedies. First of all, credit must be taken for moderation in the settlement of the revenue due from the land, when the rental of irrigated lands is generally about three times and that of unirrigated lands about twice the Government land tax. None the less in such orders of the Government of Lord Wenlock in regard to the settlement of unsettled districts as have been communicated to the press, the chief note struck is moderation. The districts not yet settled are among the very richest in India, and the finances of the Government of India are indeed far from flourishing. But moderation, not, as great an increase as circumstances permit, is all that the Government of Madras prescribes.

The condition of tenants of *Zemindars*, that is of cultivators not holding directly under Government, is admittedly not so good as that of the Government *ryots*, and the Act under which the rights of such tenants are protected is admittedly faulty; but the Government of Lord Wenlock has announced its intention to bring forward at an early date a Bill dealing with this question.

As regards agricultural indebtedness it is considered quite certain that landed property in Southern India is not encumbered to anything like the extent to which such property is encumbered in England, where Lord Reay has estimated encumbrances to be 58 per cent. of the value of the real estate; and in Madras the money lenders are mostly themselves members of the agricultural classes and not foreigners by blood and aliens by interest as in the Deccan. The rate of interest varies from 6 to 12 per cent., and unfortunately rules higher in proportion to the smallness of the loan. It must not be forgotten, however, that the money-lender is a necessary evil as "the poorer class of *ryot*," said the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, "can never altogether dispense with him." There is, however, no doubt that the agricultural classes generally are much less indebted than they were, and that wealth instead of being accumulated in comparatively few hands is much more generally distributed. "The most effective way," says Mr.

Srinavasa, "in which Government can assist the rural population to extricate itself from indebtedness is to enable it to obtain loans for agricultural improvements on easy terms from agricultural banks." Lord Wenlock's government had anticipated this suggestion by deputing one of its ablest officers to study this subject in India and on the Continent of Europe,—a prelude, it is believed, to further action in this behalf. This is a matter of the first importance; for if once the people of the country commenced to invest in land credit banks, investments in other securities would follow. Sir D. Barbour has estimated that since 1835 about 300,000,000 Rx. of gold and silver have been hoarded or used in jewellery in India. Meanwhile of a debt of 218,000,000 Rx., only 25,000,000 are held by natives of India, while the investment therein of 100,000,000 would save the country 4,000,000 Rx. annually in interest.

The danger resulting from the crowding of the population upon the single resource of agriculture has been recognised, and endeavours have been made to meet it by developing a diversity of occupations and by encouraging general, technical and female education. During the last 20 years the number of collegiate institutions has increased from 12 to 35 and of collegiate scholars from 385 to 3,200; the number of scholars in receipt of secondary instruction has advanced to 32,000, and primary scholars,—the most important class of all,—from 43,000 to 560,000. Meanwhile 48,000 girls are under instruction, female education having commenced since 1891. In consequence of these measures, moreover, the *personnel* and purity of the administration has immensely improved. In regard to agricultural education, real progress is likely to be made now that the excellence of the native system and its superior suitability to its own soil is at last recognised. In fact technical education and the development of the material resources of the country continue to advance since the impetus they originally received under the Government of Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, and the present Government of Madras has announced its inten-

tion of holding a special inquiry into the mineral resources of a country once famous for gold, known also to possess coal, iron, and many other useful minerals and metals.

In concluding his memorandum, after commenting upon the unsatisfactory state of the law relating to religious endowments, a draft Bill to amend which is before the Government, and after pointing out that of 5,177 persons employed upon the local and municipal Boards, or as we should say in England, on the Town and County Councils, 3,562 are non-officials and for the most part Indians, Mr. Srinavasa suggests that more of the real work of administration should be gradually entrusted to such bodies and that the Government should seek their advice in regard to legislation affecting social laws and usages. Both these suggestions are in fact being carried out and Lord Lansdowne's Act for the enlargement of Indian legislative councils proceeds upon the lines of the latter suggestion, which, however, it anticipated.

The last words of Mr. Srinavasa's able paper dwell upon the disordered state of southern India in the beginning of the century, upon the frequent famines by which it has been devastated before and since that epoch, upon the inevitable limitations to the action of an alien government, and upon the unavoidable evils which accompany rapid progress in every country, such as the discontent proceeding from the multiplication of wants and the impossibility of satisfying them; and he unhesitatingly pronounces the progress of fifty years—

"a brief interval in the life of a people as little short of marvellous." What remains to be done he says is "to widen the foundation of local government and to make it strike deeper roots in society, so as to enable it to adjust its institutions to its needs as they arise, without weakening in any way the power of the central Government for maintaining the due balance between rival interests and creeds and for interfering effectually when there is danger of such balance being disturbed."

The conclusions of this industrious, intellectual and capable Hindu gentleman may be specially commended to those Europeans who disparage the work of their compatriots in India.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING OUR POSITION IN INDIA. I.

By R. Carstairs, B.C.S.

In these days, when so much is said about the poverty of India and the desperate financial condition of her Government, it is desirable that all who have, or think they have, any remedy to offer should produce it for the information of those who are responsible. I have had twenty years' experience of District work in India, and, in common with most of my fellow-workers, have given much consideration to the various problems of administration which come in our way in the "*mofussil*." From a "*mofussil*" point of view, I think that there are certain changes of policy, which, without great expenditure or risk, would be acceptable to the people of the country, and, at the same time, place within their reach those means of progress which have done so much for our own land.

What I have to say applies especially to the Province of Lower Bengal in which I have gained such personal experience as I have. Whether and how far it applies to other localities, I do not know.

I shall confine attention to five defects, all of which, as I believe, can be remedied, being due more to mistakes of policy than to natural or physical circumstances. These are:—

1. A weak executive,—
2. The absence of a good rating system,—
3. Bad communications,—
4. Insufficient protection from drought,—
5. Neglected forests.

I shall endeavour, taking each of these in succession, to put a finger on the weak point, and to show how it is to be set right. In this article I shall deal with the first two, leaving the other three for a future occasion.

I. *A weak Executive.*—This point necessarily comes first; for, unless it is disposed of, we cannot, with much benefit, take up the rest. The executive is the agency on which we depend for carrying out our projects.

The British Administration of India has always been, and to this day is, weakened by a conflict of principle between the Common Law of India and the Common Law of England—the Patriarchal system, and the system of Self-Government. In India the Sovereign was master, and the subjects, as his children, were bound to obey all orders given by him or under his authority. In England, the people, themselves or through their representatives of all grades, from the Parish Vestry to Parliament, manage their own affairs, with which the Crown, except for certain functions allotted to it, has nothing to do.

The British Government, when it succeeded to the sovereignty of Bengal, found itself in the distasteful position of a despot. The heads of the executive Government, and, in a still greater degree the law-courts, established, English-fashion, by their side, were imbued with the principles of English Common Law, and sought to divest the Government of that arbitrary and despotic character which was natural to India but not to them, and to put a stop to its interference in all matters which in England would be outside its cognizance.

Laws were passed to prevent the shrinkage of power which this tendency caused, so far as concerned the peculiar business of the Government,—that is, the Revenue, Army, Civil Service, and the like; but not to maintain its connexion with, and control over what may be called the business of the public, as distinguished from that of the Crown.

With a view to developing an agency for the care of public interests corresponding to the British Public, three great movements have at different times been made. The first movement was Lord Cornwallis' gigantic effort to establish in Bengal a class of country Squires—the class

which, in his day, conducted the public business of rural England. As regards public business, the effort was a failure, since no more help is given in its management by landlords than by any other class of private persons.

The next movement is that identified with the name of Lord Ripon, for the establishment of Local Self-Government by means of elected representative bodies. In towns, this system has made some progress, though how far that is owing to strict control, and how far to native vigour, one would hardly like to say. Outside the towns, that is, among nineteen-twentieths of the population, it can hardly be said to have been even started yet.

The third movement, identified more especially with the Congress, is one in favour of an elected legislature. Being still in the future, this needs no further notice.

Whatever may be the future success of these or other movements, for setting up public authorities independent of the Crown, none of the systems they favour can be said so far to have, in the expressive American phrase, "come to stay." There is to-day no Indian Public having, like the British Public, an organic existence, independent of the Crown.

The weak point is this. The Crown has persuaded itself, or been induced, to withhold its hand from the greater part of that which we understand as the "business of the public," because with that, in England, the Crown has nothing to do. But in India there is no one independent of the Crown who is able and willing to carry on that business, and it is accordingly for the most part ill done, or left undone.

The reason for this I believe to be that the people of India, with the exception of a very limited number of talkers and writers, still adhere to their own Common Law; and believe in nothing that is without the stamp of the Government. "What does the *Sarkár* say?" is the first question they ask, when any project is urged upon them. If the "*Sirkar*" makes no sign, they turn with a grunt to

their private business, and take no further interest in the matter.

The people of the country, in local as well as in imperial matters, like to be governed. They do not understand self-government, but want "*hákims*" or rulers. Any Government official who has common sense and right feeling can gain among them such personal influence that they will do for him what they would not do for one another, even when they know that he cannot compel them to obey. If the influence of Government officials is not greater nor more frequently used with the people, that is not because the people will not respond, but rather because the Government prefers to employ its servants in other ways. The Government hangs back, and the people hang back, and the business of the public is not done. The Government hangs back in the expectation that the people will step forward, and take up the work as was done by the people in England; and the people hang back, waiting for a lead, as their fathers always waited. Which side will first move? Which side ought to move first? I say, undoubtedly the Government. It is, of course, possible to denounce the stupidity and limpness—the want of energy and common sense shown by the people in thus neglecting their own interests; but there are two things that we want more than a mere victory in debate—one is that these interests may be promoted, and the other that the people may be induced themselves to work for the promotion of their interests, which is an entirely different thing from proving that they ought to do so.

Whatever result it may intend to lead up to, the Government must, accepting facts as they exist, get itself into touch with the people as they are, by assuming the attitude which is most familiar to them. The only system which suits them as they are is the patriarchal system, and therefore the patriarchal principle should be frankly adopted as a starting point.

I quite agree that self-government, as it is in England,

is a much stronger and more progressive form of Government than this; but, until we have a "British Public," or something like it, we cannot have "British Self-Government." Even from the point of view of those who look upon the patriarchal principle as a primitive one, which is bound to be superseded by that which is more advanced, it is still, at the stage which has been reached by the people of India, useful and even necessary as a "pedagogue" to conduct the people to school. But I do not admit that the patriarchal system is inconsistent with advanced civilization. It does not mean that public business must be carried on by vast armies of Crown officials; or by means of arbitrary orders given suddenly by a despot; or by persons of a particular race. Under it, good laws may be administered by strong courts; every sign of the spirit of self-government may be developed and given free scope; and any persons of any race, official or non-official, may be employed on the public business.

What, then, do I mean exactly by the patriarchal principle? Every community, if organic and orderly, must have a centre of gravity. In communities like the English, the centre of gravity is in the people; in those of India, it is in the Crown. The patriarchal principle assumes that the centre of gravity, as in India, is in the Crown, and it is, therefore, for India the only principle in accordance with existing facts.

Let the Crown give that lead in all public business which the people are waiting for, and there seems good hope that great progress will be made before many years are past.

II. *Absence of a good Rating System.*—This is the next defect I have to notice. Bengal has a population of 70,000,000,—or about 14,000,000 families,—mostly poor, but all earning, for the most part by honest labour, enough to keep them alive. The great instrument in all civilized communities for utilising the wealth and labour of individuals for the common good is the Rate. It is obvious that such a vast number working for the common good could, even

if each did a very little, work wonders. A good system of rating is, therefore, of the utmost importance for the welfare of the country, and such a system we have not got. I propose that one should be introduced.

At the outset three questions demand an answer. They approach the same central fact from different sides, and the answers to them will help to give a clear view of it.

The first question is, "*How can the people of India, miserably poor as they are, afford to pay any Rate whatsoever?*"

The answer to this is just the same as that to the question: "Can a plant put forth leaves?" Where, as in India, the people are living in dense masses, they are always able, if in the least degree civilized, however poor, to contribute of their substance and labour something for the common good. The plant, when it is feeble and small, puts forth few leaves, and, as it grows, more. But, unless it is to die, it must continue putting forth leaves. So a community of human beings, if it is not in a state of utter barbarism, must be always doing something for the common good, and every effort will be a step towards greater deeds in the future.

The second question—"*Is the game worth the candle? Are the people at all likely to get benefits which will outweigh the burden and trouble of the Rate?*"—is a challenge to the advocates of Local Government. "Why can't you let it alone?" it seems to say. I shall answer it by quoting a definition of the results of Local Government in the words of its greatest advocate, Mr. Chamberlain.* "What are they," he says, "but the action of the whole community working together for the good of all, and securing for the many what otherwise would be the privilege only of the few?" I do not propose to enter here on a catalogue of the benefits it confers. I think if each of us reflects on those he himself enjoys, he will allow, whether he be rich or poor, that Local Government places within his reach

* Meeting of London Municipal Society, May 10, 1895.

the very instruments whereby wealth is acquired and health preserved, and the means whereby he is preserved from injury to life, limb, and property. To forego all these is a loss to the rich, but, to the poor, destruction.

The third question,—*Is there not political danger in imposing new taxes on the people as this suggestion implies?*—and this I must answer at somewhat greater length, as it is one dealing rather with local circumstances than with principles.

I will begin by clearly stating that the taxation I now discuss is *local* taxation for *local* purposes—not *Imperial* for *general* revenue: the latter I do not deal with.

I say that, provided it is prudently, gradually, and economically managed, there is no political danger whatever in local taxation; and my reasons for saying this are:

1. It is necessary, if the country is not to go backwards,—

2. The people are already, and have always been most severely taxed locally, and the first effect of organized local taxation will be to relieve, not to increase, the pressure on them,—

3. The question in the case of a local tax is one of balance, between the evil to be remedied and the trouble and expense of the tax,—

4. Experience shows that ratepayers soon get accustomed to their burdens, and able to bear greater.

I will endeavour to explain each of these shortly.

With regard to the first,—that something must be done if the country is not to go backwards. The old system in India, as I have already explained, was the patriarchal system. When any local work was wanted, the ruler gave orders to the landlord or rent-collector, and he to the people, and the work was done. In this way they made roads, tanks, canals, drains, and such works. Speaking generally, this was a means of supplying all urgently needed public wants, and it was a form of taxation, though wanting some of the characteristics we look for in taxation. It was not assessed, collected and accounted for in the formal

manner to which we are accustomed; but the authority was that which, under the oriental system, corresponds to our public local authority. Although our law does not recognise this Eastern method of working, still men must live, and their wants must be satisfied, if not in one way, then in another. This old method is still largely recognised and adopted by these people, tenacious as they are of their old customs. Custom alone, however, unsupported by the law, is gradually losing its hold. One man after another refuses to be bound by it; and refusals, as men see that they can be made with impunity, will become more and more common, till the custom finally dies out. I do not advocate the restoration of this loose Eastern method of taxation. It presses heavily on the poor, and is wasteful, as much of what is gathered sticks to the hands of those who collect. But, unless it is restored, or replaced by a better, the people must suffer in convenience, health and estate, and their hopes of progress will be diminished. The country will go backwards.

The second reason I give is that a proper system of taxation would mean relief, not increased pressure. Is anyone so fond as to imagine that the only taxes laid on the poor are those imposed by the State for public purposes? Throughout the tens of thousands of Indian villages there goes on daily a constant bleeding of the poor, in labour, in substance, and even in money. Whereas a public rate is, or ought to be, limited in amount, and regulated by the ratepayer's ability to pay, and the benefits he receives, these private taxes are limited only by the extent of his means, and his power to resist or evade payment; and they are spent, not for his benefit, but for that of others. One of the first effects of organized local taxation will be the relief of the poor from the pressure of private exactions. This is why having a civilized Government which costs something is cheaper, in the end, than doing without one.

The third reason, that the question is not one of weight but one of balance, must necessarily ensure us against all

political danger. If a tax, coupled with the benefit it is to bring, does not commend itself to the public opinion of the people whom it concerns, it need not be imposed. If it does commend itself to local opinion, and the local public knows that this is a necessary condition antecedent to its being imposed, it cannot ever be a cause of political danger. There are taxes, such as the police rate, which Government considers absolutely necessary to be imposed ; but in such cases the political danger has been already faced.

The fourth reason is experience. We have examples of this in most of our larger municipalities, whose income and expenditure have been steadily rising without any increase of hardship appearing to take place. It is well illustrated by the figure of the plant, whose crop of leaves becomes naturally larger as it grows in vigour and size.

Being satisfied, therefore, that a proper system of local taxation is necessary for the progress of the country; is worth making an effort to get, and is not likely to be a cause of political danger, I shall now proceed to inquire how far we have in existence machinery for supplying in this way the wants of the country whether in a formal or in an informal manner.

There are, in Bengal, three classes of tax authorised by law, which can be called Rates, *viz.*—the Municipal Rate ; the Village Watch Rate ; and the Road and Public Works Cesses. The first is a rate levied in municipalities for expenditure on public works and services within the municipalities. These municipalities are towns comprising, as I said above, about one-twentieth of the population. A great part of the houses and inhabitants they contain differ in no material degree from those in the villages outside ; but those villages have no corresponding form of taxation. In some municipalities the rate is levied on the value of real property ; in others on the means or circumstances of the inhabitants.

The second—the Village Watch Rate—is levied in villages outside, but not within, municipalities for the maintenance

of the local police, or village watch. The duty of maintaining them was formerly placed on the landlords, whom, as I have already said, Lord Cornwallis attempted to erect into a class of Squires who would carry on, as the corresponding class did in England, the public business. On the failure of this attempt, it became necessary to provide public authorities independent, if possible, of the landlords, for assessing and levying the pay of the village watchmen. This necessity induced the Government to incur the political danger of setting up local "*Punchayets*" or committees and of ordering the levy by them of the necessary tax. I cannot give exact figures as to the number of these *punchayets*, and the amount of funds dealt with by them. There are still many watchmen remunerated with land or in other ways. Roughly speaking, however, there are over 100,000 village watchmen for whose pay some 40,000 *punchayets* or committees are responsible, and the annual funds they deal with are something like 6,000,000 Rs., levied by quarterly instalments from about the same number of householders.

The third tax is the Road cess, with the Public Works cess. These are levied together, and had their origin in the Orissa famine, which aroused alarm in the mind of the Government at the entire absence of communications and protecting works in many parts of rural Bengal. This was another matter in which the landlords had failed to answer the expectations formed by Lord Cornwallis. Necessity here again induced the Government to face the political danger of compelling the rural owners and occupiers to pay rates for making good these deficiencies. The method employed for assessing and levying these rates is the old Eastern method of working through the landlords. The constituted authorities intimate their demand to the collector of Government Land Revenue; he passes it on to the landlords; and they again demand the amounts due from the tenants. If the tenant fails to pay, the landlord has to recover the amount from him by a private suit; and he is

personally responsible to Government for the whole amount due from himself and all his tenants, whether it has been collected by him or not. The amount collected yearly in this way is some 5,000,000 Rs., and the number of items, including payments by tenants to landlords, probably amounts to 30,000,000. Looked at merely as it touches the Government, the work of collection is not very heavy, as the number of items is small; the money is paid into the Government treasury; and there is a summary procedure for Government to collect arrears. But if we follow it out until we come to each one who has to make ultimate payment, it is found to be gigantic.

Besides these three legalised forms of Rate, there are the ancient customary forms of contribution, which cannot be enforced by law.

There is the landlord's duty. The old notion was that it was the landlord's right and duty to supply all public wants on his estate, such as roads, public works, irrigation works, drains, reserve stocks of food, sanitation, police, and even amusements. He recouped himself by a levy on the tenants, and acted as the executive of the community. The motive power by which landlords were induced to do all this was the fear of the Government officers, who could exert strong pressure; and the means which enabled them to do their work was their power to recoup themselves from the tenants. The motive and the means were gradually weakened and reduced by the action of the Government itself which was continually directed to impressing on the landlords that they had nothing to fear from officials, and on the tenants that the landlords had no right to levy cesses or rates beyond the rent. The most conspicuous results of this policy, no doubt a wise and just one, were the failure of police and that of public works which brought on the Village-watch-rate and the Road and Public Works cesses. Other results, however, have flowed from the same policy, in the shape of neglected irrigation, sanitation, education, medical aid and the like, for which, out-

side municipalities, no other provision has been made. The Government has tried to arrest the decay of public spirit in landlords by the occasional bestowal of titles and by the acknowledgment in the official gazette of all, even very moderate, acts of liberality. But this is no efficient substitute for pressure—the "blessed word, compulsion."

Then considerable progress has been made in what may be called the wild form of the rate,—that is, in Subscriptions. The subscription must answer, if it is to succeed, to the definition of a just rate. It must be a local rateable contribution by those interested for a definite local object which they desire. I have seen subscriptions very successfully raised for all the various purposes generally considered good objects for rates. I have myself, on the invitation of local people, frequently taken part in getting up subscriptions for roads, water-works, bridges, drains, schools, or dispensaries, some of them occasional, some long continued. I have also seen, in poor communities, where money was not plentiful, peasants turning out and giving the labour of their hands, and landowners giving up their land without payment, for the desired object. I have generally found that if there was a real desire for the object, the movement succeeded, while if there was no such desire, it failed. I have always been a believer in the importance of this local spirit. If I may be permitted to quote my own experience, I was so successful, when in close contact with the people, in discovering and utilising that local spirit that, at the time —now fifteen years ago—when proposals for a Local Self-Government Act were being made, a statement of what I had done in that way was sent by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy, and by him to the Secretary of State, as facts in support of the proposed law. My experience since has only confirmed my strong belief in the importance and power of this local spirit and my desire that it should be developed and utilised to the utmost.

The weak point of mere voluntary action is that, sooner or later, some of those who joined at first get tired and drop

off; and the most zealous get to grudge continued efforts and sacrifices the benefits of which are enjoyed by others, perhaps better off, who have not joined in making them. No local public service is likely to be permanently efficient without the compulsory Rate at its back. I look on it as a matter of the utmost importance, therefore, that such tendencies as there are in the direction of contributions for the common good should be strengthened and made more lasting by the provision of some such means of support.

Is any of the systems now in use of such a nature that it can be made use of for supplying local wants in the same way as Rates in England? Is it sufficiently pliable and easy to work, and are there people to work it? I rather think that, in the opinion of "the powers that be," none of them are fit for extended use, because no step has been taken for extending any of them. Outside towns,—short of threatened famine and threatened destruction of the village police, to prevent which supreme evils all risks were taken, —no system of rates has been thought likely to remove more evil than it brings in its train. If that were not so, surely the beneficial system would have been already in use.

In my opinion the hesitation which plainly is felt in extending either the system of the Road Cess or that of the Village Watch Rate for the supply of other public wants in villages outside towns is reasonable, and there are objections to both these systems, as they stand, from which even the Municipal Rate is not wholly free.

The road cess is objectionable

(1), Because it is not sufficiently local, as it must be uniform over a whole Revenue District, that is over an area, more or less of 3,000 square miles, and may be spent anywhere within that area. This condition would not, it is true, prevent the fund being spent where it is raised, though, as a matter of fact, that is hardly ever done; but it wholly prevents the raising or lowering of the rate according to local needs.

(2), Its collection is made by private agency, and cannot therefore be properly supervised.

(3), The items being small, and having to be collected as private debts, the cost and labour of collection are unduly great in proportion to the proceeds.

The defects of the Village Watch Rate are in the working rather than in the principle. It is local and imposed according to the ability of the villagers to pay, and to the services they receive. Enormous numbers of men have to be found to work on "*Punchayets*,"—something like 200,000 men in Bengal alone. While some of these may have intelligence, some honesty, some courage, and possibly a very few may have all three, the greater number want at least two and sometimes all of these qualities. The mass of accounts they keep, or are supposed to keep, is far beyond the power of any agency at the disposal of Government to audit or supervise; and it is in practice necessary to leave them to themselves. It is often found that those who keep the best accounts are the least satisfactory in their work. Many of these men become petty tyrants, while others again are so afraid of offending their neighbours that they will often pay a good part of the tax out of their own pockets rather than enforce its payment. Frequently the watchman has to suffer from his pay being withheld or delayed. Therefore, although the system has not so completely broken down as to be laid aside, it has hardly been so successful as to encourage its extension.

The municipal rates in towns are those which have been working best; but even there, with all the intelligence and skilled agency available, it has been extremely difficult to prevent break-down and avoid scandals in the working. I do not think that the same system, if extended to the less enlightened and accessible, and much vaster tracts outside the towns, could be saved from a scandalous break-down. I do not think that any system at present in use is available for our purpose.

Let us bear in mind the precise nature of the difficulty

to be encountered in the search for a suitable system. In rural India, no rate is worth collecting unless the small men are made to contribute, because the men of substance are few and not wealthy. But, when the small men are made to contribute, so small and numerous are the items that the cost of collection, account and audit must be unduly large in proportion to the proceeds, and the necessary cheapness of the agency employed must raise a just fear of extortion or embezzlement.

The difficulty is one mainly of machinery; and I now propose to solve it by describing a machine which is designed to do nothing but merely collect, economically, efficiently, and with as little hardship as possible, such rates as the law may permit to be assessed or collected. What these may be, I have indicated; but the merits of the machine have nothing to do with the policy or impolicy of this or that tax. If we assume that a tax is to be collected, then obviously there can be nothing but good in the collection being made with efficiency and without hardship. The machine I shall describe may be used in the towns, but it is intended more especially for use in the vast areas outside the towns; not because it is less easy to apply in the towns than outside, but because the towns have already some sort of machinery which they may be unwilling to supersede, while in the villages there is no legalized machinery of any kind except for the village watch.

I propose in the first place to withdraw from local bodies the business of valuing, assessing, and collecting. In the case of exceptional bodies, such as a large municipality, in whose hands it may be thought advisable to leave the business, that may be done; and this machinery need not in such a case be applied. Local bodies may also be left to settle questions of principle, such as the basis of valuation, and may take part in settling questions depending on local knowledge, such as the valuation itself. The special use of the proposed machinery is to relieve local bodies of the mechanical drudgery involved in making out lists, intimating

demands, collecting them with punctuality, and properly accounting for the money.

The withdrawal and concentration of this mechanical business is a relief to the ratepayer, who will have to do with one compulsory authority instead of with several; and it adds to the economy and efficiency of the work by reducing to a minimum the number of transactions to be made and accounted for.

The system must, like the Census, Registration, Police, and other general services, be territorial, embracing the whole country—those parts where the rates are large; those where they are small, and even those where now there are no rates. If there is no rate to-day, there may be one to-morrow, and provision should be made for the future as well as for the present.

Rating authorities are to be established, one for each Circle. The circles should be of such a size as can conveniently be managed, from one centre. In these days of post-office, rail and road, it is possible to manage from one centre a larger Circle than could formerly have been managed. On many grounds it would be advisable to make the Circles coincide with Revenue Districts. The establishment entertained for a Circle will naturally depend on the work to be done.

The Circle area must be divided into local areas, of such a size that each local area has a community of local interests. This division has already been made for the purpose of the Census. The local areas should not be more than a few square miles each; for, while it is always possible to join several together for any purpose, there is often a great advantage in having limited separate areas.

The first work after local areas have been defined is the preparation of a valuation roll. Two principles of valuation are at present in use,—one on real property, for the Road-rate and in some municipalities; the other on circumstances, or income, in the remaining municipalities and in villages for the Village Watch-Rate. Although there seems no

necessity for one of these being adopted everywhere to the exclusion of the other, since a place may have that which suits it best, I have little doubt that the principle of valuation on circumstances, which is now by far the most generally used and best understood, will be that usually adopted. There is no practical difficulty in applying it in a rough-and-ready way, since we have an excellent basis in the wages of day-labourers, as to which statistics are periodically recorded. The classes of small men that are numerous, such as peasants, artisans, petty traders, and the like, can be assessed by comparison with them, and the exceptional cases of more substantial men can be more carefully dealt with. This assessment by comparison is a work not easy for a stranger to do, but for the neighbours it is most easy. It is what every Village Watch "*Punchayet*" is now supposed to do, and does without scandal. I have had a good deal of experience in the work at our little meetings to get up subscriptions for local objects, and believe that there is seldom much difference of opinion as to the relative capability of any two men to pay. Given a starting point—which we have in this case in the labourer's wage—the rest is easy. The work of valuation can best be done by an independent official, sitting in consultation with the local people; but very often the main part of it can be done by the latter, supervised by the former.

The Valuation Roll informs us of the entire available income of each local area, and what would be the produce of any given rate. With the fixing of the demands or rates, the special department has nothing to do. The properly constituted authorities certify to it the amounts or rates they have determined to collect, and it is for the department to set about the mechanical duty of distributing, notifying, collecting, and crediting the demands.

The first part of this work is the Assessment Roll. Lists of ratepayers, each with his valuation recorded, are made out, and, opposite each name, the various sums which that person is liable to pay on account of the several demands—

roads, police, dispensary, schools, or the like. The whole of these are totalled into one consolidated demand. Thus we reduce to a minimum the number of transactions, and the consequent worry and expense of collection.

The second and most difficult part of the work is the actual collection. This is difficult, and, done in the present way, is risky, and expensive, because the items are small and numerous. The collection of a small sum gives just as much trouble as that of a large; and yet, if we are to avoid the risk of oppression or of embezzlement, the accounts of the former need to be kept and audited as carefully as those of the latter. The work of collecting rates in India, therefore, when the sums to be collected are not one-tenth in amount of those in England, and in number ten times as many, is necessarily much more costly in proportion to the fund collected. The Government has avoided this greater cost in the case of the Road Cess by throwing it on the landlords and tenants; and in the case of the Village Watch Rate it has been partly provided by a liberal allowance—about 10 per cent.—for the cost of collection, and partly avoided by making no efficient provision for account and audit. I think, however, that we should all prefer absolutely to diminish, instead of merely shifting to other shoulders, the burden of cost, and to make efficient the work of audit and account instead of slurring it over. I believe that it is possible to do these two things; and, in the hope that any improvement in this direction will simplify, make easy, and so bring into use the Rate as an instrument for the promotion of the public good, I will here say how I think they can be done.

The idea, so far as I am aware, is my own; but probably it has its origin in the device of Mr. Fawcett, when Postmaster General of England, for encouraging thrift by issuing cards to be covered with Postage Stamps whose value was credited in the Savings Bank.

The plan I propose is this. I would divide the demands as finally entered in the assessment list into two classes,

those above, and those below a certain amount. The dividing point can be fixed at any sum found practically convenient, and can be shifted from time to time when thought advisable. The collection of the larger sums can be made in cash as hitherto and needs no farther remark. For the collection of the smaller sums, which will be by far the most numerous, a special procedure should be adopted. The names of all assessees in the list of small amounts should be recorded in one list, and opposite each name the demand. A copy of the list should then be issued to a local agent for the local area and remain with him for a certain time, during which he should assemble the assessees and cause each of them to affix on the list, beside his name, stamps to the amount of his demand. At the end of the fixed period, he should return the list with the stamps on it to the central office, where the stamps should be checked, and the amount credited to the fund. Arrears with suitable penalties can be collected in the ordinary way both for the larger and for the smaller demands.

Stamps for the purpose, marked to facilitate their being identified as for the fund, could be issued, and a suitable deduction made from their value, before credit is given, to recoup the cost of manufacture, sale and account. They could be bought by assessees for themselves at the Treasury, at the Post-office, or from licensed vendors, when and where they like, as other stamps are now bought.

The advantages of this method are :—

1. There is no local agent with a compulsory power of collecting money,—

2. No accounts need be kept or receipts given by local agents, as the stamps prove payment,—

3. The work of account and audit is done at head-quarters, where it can be done with efficiency and economy.

I see no faults in the method that would outweigh its advantages.

Local agents, who may be the local authorities, can be got at moderate cost, as all they have to do is to assemble the assessees and cause them to affix their stamps. The

checking and crediting of the funds collected is a routine matter for the central office.

So far as I can judge, the system of which I have given a short sketch is a means of getting the whole work—collection, account and audit—done at a reasonable expense and with fair efficiency.

If it answers its purpose, what can be done with it?

It will, in the first place, enable the people and their representatives to carry out such programmes of works and services as may commend themselves to the several localities. These programmes are likely to begin, in most places, on a very modest scale; but, according to the law of such things, they will grow; and their growth will be quicker when there is a convenient means for supplying them with nourishment.

Besides this, an opportunity will be given to the Government to revise its own programme, making a redistribution of burdens and duties. All direct taxes should be confined to purposes that are strictly local. The Road and Public Works Rates are direct rates for general purposes, and should cease to be levied, local rates being substituted; while the Income Tax should merge in the local rates of the places where it is levied. The Income Tax in India produces little, since taxable incomes are neither numerous nor large. To meet the loss which these changes would cause in the general Revenue, local business should, as far as possible, be made a charge on local resources. In the departments of police, communications, sanitation, medical aid, water-supply, and, perhaps, famine-relief, the ordinary work should be left to the localities, the Government confining itself to supervision, to such parts of the work as are manifestly beyond local capacity, and, where financial help is needed, to grants in aid.

In this double way a good rating system may be a means of developing and organizing the people and their resources, while at the same reducing that load of responsibility which at present weighs down the central Government like a nightmare.

"NEW DANGERS AND FRESH WRONGS."

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

I. The Chitrál Bluebook and Kafiristán.

II. The Suppressed Treaties and the ignored Proclamation.

The recently issued Chitrál Bluebook has been called a masterpiece alike of *suppressio veri* and of *suggestio falsi.* It is, more correctly, an edition of documents bowdlerized of inconvenient facts, the publication of which might have offended taste or alarmed the conscience. As, however, the documents which the compilers of the Bluebook have either suppressed or ignored, are indispensable to the understanding of the wrongs that have been, or are about to be, committed and of the dangers that in consequence now threaten the Indian Empire, one is forced to give, at any rate, an indication of their contents. That a self-governing nation should have been involved in a course of action, without its knowledge or consent, in spite of Parliament and of the Press and in defiance of its avowed principles and cherished traditions, only shows how powerless, as yet, these institutions are to really control those who are invested with the responsibilities of office. Among these responsibilities one would wish to include an honest, if elementary, knowledge of the subject with which they may happen to deal.*

* Were the Rulers of India who, from the safe and distant watch-tower of England, take a lofty bird's-eye view of our great Dependency, to really study what they govern, we should not have seen their self-exposure in Parliament in the recent Chitrál Debate, in which the late Secretary of State, with the best intentions no doubt, credited Nizám-ul-Mulk with innumerable murders, mistaking him throughout for *our* nominee Afzul-ul-Mulk, the wholesale fratricide, and probable parricide of Aman-ul-Mulk. One financial authority also confounded *crores* with *lakhs*, and another misapplied the superficial remarks of Dr. Robertson regarding the fickleness of Chitrális to the Pathan, who is unchangeably hostile to British rule. This fickleness, moreover, was accepted as the crucial test in connexion with the question of keeping up or abandoning the Peshawar-Chitrál road. Now this road, via Bajaur, has existed for traffic from times immemorial,

In the peculiar position also of the British nation, righteous dealing with other, especially subject or less civilized, races, is a primary law of its continued political existence, for our Empire is largely moral and the advocacy of such questions as the abolition of slavery, individual liberty, etc., that appeal to the sympathies and support of mankind, has gained for Great Britain the willing allegiance of the best minds all over the world without the expenditure, as a rule, of material force or of special diplomatic astuteness. "Righteousness," or its reputation, has, indeed, "exalted the nation," and any departure from it, as in the case before us, must be resented by the English people alike as a duty and an act of self-preservation.

The documents that, at once, strike one by their absence, to use perhaps an Irishism, are the very ones which form the alleged *raison d'être* of the Chitrál expedition and of the Bluebook itself. These are the referred-to, but not published, Treaties, by one of which the late Amán-ul-Mulk of Chitrál is supposed to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, and the second, "the Durand Treaty" which, it is coolly stated on page 44 of the Chitrál Bluebook to an Anti-Slavery nation, has handed over "to Afghanistan the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitrál."

Let England and the educated world ring with the news that "the brethren of the European," the remnants of a prehistoric culture—and that, too, the prototype of our own—the tribes that for a thousand years have so bravely resisted Muhammadan slave-raids, our dear and loyal

and was good enough to enable our troops to get to Chitrál within a month and will be good enough, without any further expenditure, to enable us to do so again at any time. At all events, neither the fickleness of the tribes nor their hostility need involve us in a relatively greater outlay on keeping the road open than is now so well spent on the equally "fickle" Khyber Pass Afridis. For Rs. 200 p.m. I managed, for years, to maintain a service of postal runners for journalistic purposes throughout the independent territories and Afghanistan right up to Bokhara, which, I may add, was the only source of information during a portion of the time that the Amir Sher Ali had broken off communications with the Indian Government.

friends since the days of Sale at Jelalabad till the recent "demarcation of the Afghan boundary under the Durand Treaty" alienated its Bashgali Section, have been handed over by Christian, missionary, and "righteous" England to inevitable extermination by the surrounding Afghans or Pathans.* I have no doubt that the ever-vigilant British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which more than twenty years ago protested against these kidnapping expeditions and entrusted Jamshêd, the brave nephew of the famous General Feramorz, a Siah Posh Kafir, then in England, whose tale will, I hope, be published in this Review, with a message of comfort to his race and of trust in the protection of the British Government and people, will not allow, without a word of protest, any such transference of human beings and liberties as is indicated in the Durand Treaty.† Parliament should certainly insist on its being

* A proof of the inveterate hostility which exists between the Muhammadans and the Siahposh Kafirs may be found in the following verses, which begin a Pakhtu song:

"*Kapiristan la shta dêy má la khob*
Kala ra-dzina
Kapiristán wurán shi! wedán
Mah shi pah kaluna!
Katara-ta lâr shah, Kapirgey
Raura, má-la!"

TRANSLATION.

"As long as Kafiristan exists I cannot sleep in peace.
Let Kafiristan be destroyed and may it never be inhabited.
Go, (friend,) go to the Katár tribe and bring me a vile Kafir."

This unchangeable determination of the Pathans to destroy or enslave Kafiristan may rouse even the, apparently, moribund Aborigines Protection Society to come to the rescue of the Kafirs of the Hindukush, although they are merely the survivors of our own early civilization and neither South Sea islanders nor even cannibals.

† ADDRESS TO THE CHIEFS OF THE SIAH POSH KAFIR TRIBE (*Anti-Slavery Reporter for January*, 1875).

As Jamshed, the Siah Posh Kafir, an escaped slave from Affghanistan, who was brought to England, by Dr. G. W. Leitner, was about to return to his people, this was felt to be a favourable opportunity to send an address to the chiefs of his tribe which has been, and still is, exposed to



JAMSHÊD, THE SIAH PÒSH KAFIR,

AT A MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

published at once, lest it hide some other evil, to be sprung at some future time upon the unsuspecting British public,

the kidnapping raids of the Amir of Cabool and his chiefs. The following, in the Persian language, has accordingly been forwarded to them :—

"To Naib Turab and Chiefs of the District of Katar;" (annexed about 1865 and practically destroyed; see above *Afghan Song*).

After friendly greetings, etc., etc., the object of this letter is as follows :

We have heard through your well-wisher, Dr. Leitner, that certain tribes near your country kidnap numbers of your people and sell them into slavery; this intelligence has filled us with grief.

Though we had heard of your race, we have never seen one of your people till Dr. Leitner brought to England your relative Jamshêd, who himself was kidnapped when young, and who has informed us of some particulars of your history, and the trials of your people, arising from the slave-hunters who steal the members of your tribe and enslave them. The people of England desire that all men shall be free. They are great enemies to the slave-trade and slavery, and have abolished it wherever they can.

We, your cordial friends, are a Society founded many years ago, whose object it is to suppress the slave-trade and slavery by every legitimate means in every part of the world; and we have memorialized our Government on the subject of the kidnapping raids made against your tribe: urging upon them to make due inquiry into the matter, and that you and other tribes may be protected by the Queen's Government.

We shall be glad to know whether members of your and neighbouring tribes continue to suffer from those who would enslave you, and we trust that you will send us particulars of any raids made upon you. We would recommend that you should appoint a trustworthy representative to make known the circumstances of any kidnapping raids, to the Commissioner of Peshawur or other British officer on the British frontier, so that they may report the same to the Government, who, we doubt not, will give the matter their serious attention.

We would further suggest that all other tribes subject to the slave expeditions of their neighbours should submit their grievances to the British Government.

We commend to your protection any British subject who may be travelling near or into your territory, and we hereby thank the people of Shaiderlain for the hospitality they showed ten years ago to two Christians, Nurulla and Fazal-ul-haq.

May the God of all men give you all needful help, and deliver your people from the great evil of slavery.

We are, your well wishers, Joseph Cooper, Edmund Sturge, Robert Alsop (*Honorary Secretaries*); Benjamin Millard (*Secretary*).

27, *New Broad Street, London.*
November, 1874."

just as the iniquity to which I have referred has now been.

No one has more sincerely advocated the integrity and independence of Afghanistan than myself, but the Danæan gift of Kafiristan, that has been made to the Amir, can only lead to the eventual occupation of Afghanistan itself, with, probably, its ultimate partition between England and Russia, when the Jingo party find it impossible to annex it altogether for England alone.

The first result of the Durand Treaty will be the stultification of its own avowed policy of keeping Afghan influence out of Chitrál,* by substituting for it the actual presence of Afghan troops along the Kafir mountains that skirt Chitrál. This is inevitable as the breachloaders, with which we have so plentifully supplied the Amir, will soon make short work of the heroic Kafirs, mostly armed with knives and bows. Now I am in favour of the extension of so much of the Amir's *influence* as is necessary to establish the same friendly policy which he represents towards England throughout the whole of the region that intervenes between the Russian and British boundaries in Asia. More than this influence will not be tolerated in Chitrál or by the Dard races generally, among which—at any rate, for purposes of distinction from Pathans as well as for other reasons,—the Kafirs may be included. The late Ministry had proposed, as a quasi-alternative to the appointment of Sher Afzul, to give the Amir a portion of Chitrál, in spite of the shadowy suzerainty of Kashmîr which is played with fast and loose and either exists or not as serves the constant changes of the official front. (Bluebook, page 52.) The Amir is the natural suzerain of all Pathans and certainly of Bajaur, Dir and Swat, which are *excluded* from his influence by the Durand Treaty. That Treaty gives him alien Kafiristan which he ought not to have and takes away from him the kindred Pathans, whose natural Head he will always be. To appoint Afzul, the friend and

* "Under the Durand agreement in which the Amir undertakes to abstain from interference in Chitrál" (page 44 of Chitrál Bluebook).



A SIAH PÔSH KAFIR.



KALASHA AND BASHGALI KAFIRS UNDER CHITRÁL.



A SIAH PÔSH KAFIR AND DR. LEITNER'S SWATI RETAINER (SEATED).

protégé of the Amir, as the ruler of Chitrál, would have been an act of justice as also of sound policy, and would have avoided the complications to which the presence of a British Resident in Chitrál territory must give rise in the future, as it has in the past, in a country which, before our intervention, had enjoyed the peace of 20 years under Aman-ul-Mulk. The Viceroy, however, would have none of Sher Afzul (page 54) who had committed the unpardonable crime of "offering his friendship *as a favour*" to Dr. Robertson (page 46) in the only tone, that of independence, that befitted the rightful claimant to the Chitrál Throne, the idol of the Chitrál people, and that gave any value to his offer. Indeed, it is this manly spirit that, in the interests of the safety of the British Empire, should inspire all the tribes between our own and the Russian frontiers whose independence we have guaranteed to respect. It is also to the interest of all the countries—large or small—concerned, India, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Chitrál, that there should remain, to each of them, these fringes, belts or buffers of independent tribes that now so providentially exist. Above all, is it easy to maintain the independence of the Kafirs. Sir G. Robertson has, not unwisely, so far as the British public is concerned, proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Chitrál, where it had, practically, ceased for some years and where its continued supply could only have been derived from the already enslaved class of Kalásha Kafirs (who, I suppose, will now be set free in name as in deed) and from raids on the Bashgalis (or rather their serf-class) in alliance with Chitrál. It is, however, somewhat ridiculous for him to install the boy-Mehtar and recommend the abolition of the traffic in slaves, when we ourselves open out, on an immense scale, and that too by Treaty, the whole of a large country to slavery and murder. Nor will the irony or hypocrisy of the prohibition of "murderous outrage" in Chitrál have escaped the attention of the Chitráli listeners, so shortly after the murder of Nizám-ul-Mulk and other bloodshed, unparalleled in Chitrál annals, which were uncon-

sciously provoked by our presence and our subsidies to whoever might be the *de facto* Chief. If there is one lesson more than any other that we might learn from recent Chitrál history, it is, at last, to cease from interference with the independence of States. If, however, the exigencies of diplomatic red-tape require that the independence of the Kafirs should be sacrificed on paper, let it be so to Kashmir, the Hindu faith of the rulers of which is in sympathy with that of the Kafirs and the policy of which could never be the extermination or enslavement of infidels.*

Fortunately, we have in the Amir of Afghanistan a far-seeing ruler who will gladly give up the shadows of the costly conquest of Kafiristan for the realities of British support. It is to his interest to respect the susceptibilities of this country, not to speak of Russia and the rest of Europe that would be united on such a question as the preservation of the Kafirs. Indeed, many Russians look upon them as specially akin to their Slav progenitors. Above all, we have in Lord Salisbury a statesman, who will not allow a clause to stand, or to be operative, in a treaty made by predecessors whose policy on the whole Chitrál question he has so completely reversed.

It will be a revelation to Radical-Liberals to find that their Ministry has so trampled on their avowed principles as to give up an entire inoffensive and friendly people to rape, plunder and death. Probably, it will be a revelation to the Ministry itself and it may induce future aspirants to the rule of Oriental races first to learn something about them and their languages. As for Lord Salisbury, he spoke with no uncertain voice in the following reply to an Appeal on behalf of the Kafirs which was made to him in 1874 by the Anti-Slavery Society, whose Memorial I now republish, in the full conviction that the Amir Abdurrahman will cheerfully do what his predecessor the Amir Sher Ali was unable to effect—namely to leave the Kafirs

* See Appendix.

serenely and severely alone and to abolish slavery throughout his dominions in compliance alike with the injunctions of his own religion and the demands of modern civilization.

MEMORIAL TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY ON THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY IN AFFGHANISTAN.

To the Right Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg respectfully to call your Lordship's attention to the slave-trade and slavery, as existing very extensively throughout the Affghan territories, the Ameer of which receives annually a large subsidy from the British Indian Government.

Your Memorialists are informed that slave-marts, some of which are very large, are found in most of the principal cities, where the slaves are bought and sold like cattle, while at times the most revolting cruelties are practised.

To meet the demand for slaves, raids are made by the Ameer's soldiers on adjacent territory, and by merchants and traders on the weaker tribes near Chitrál, the Hindu Kush, and other localities. These slave-hunts are carried out on a very extensive scale, as may be instanced in the case of a late Governor of Faizabad, Mir Ghulam Bey, who had eight thousand horse in his employ, whose only occupation was to scour the country for the purpose of kidnapping. The Sunni merchants of Badakhshan also capture all whom they can seize, and not only sell the Shiahs, who are considered infidels, and therefore legitimate subjects for sale, but also compel their Sunni co-religionists to undergo the severest torments to induce them to avow themselves Shiahs and so become liable for sale.

Your Memorialists would especially and earnestly solicit your Lordship's attention to the slave-hunts by the Affghans against the Siah Posh Kafirs, supposed to be a colony of about three hundred thousand white persons, planted in the Hindu Kush mountains by Alexander the Great, and to possess some knowledge of the Christian religion, in which they have been further instructed by native Christian evangelists. These people have had to suffer lamentably from the kidnapping expeditions of the Affghans.

Your Memorialists learn that, so long as their invaders possessed only the ordinary weapons of the country, the Siah Posh Kafirs resisted the forces of the Affghan chiefs. Since, however, the Ameer has become a feudatory of the Indian Government, and received yearly large sums of money, and several thousands of the latest improved fire-arms, it is feared the colony will eventually be subdued and enslaved; a calamity the more to be deplored, as it will thus be brought about by the aid afforded to a Mahommedan ruler from a Christian nation whose policy has been to exterminate the slave-trade and slavery wherever found.

Your Memorialists would also observe, that the said raid against the Siah Posh Kafirs, and their consequent retaliation on Mahommedan travellers, renders the roads in the direct route between Turkistan and the

Punjab so insecure as to stop commercial intercourse altogether, or to compel merchants and traders to make a long detour, either *viâ* Yarkand or Kabul, in their journeys, involving a serious loss of time and property.

Your Memorialists learn with much satisfaction that since His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, has been pleased to induce the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara to suppress the slave-trade and slavery in their territories, a very great check has been given to the slave-hunts in the exposed districts.

Your Memorialists respectfully submit that, as the Ameer, Sher Ali, is a feudatory of, and is in the receipt annually of a considerable subsidy of money and arms from, Her Majesty's Government in India, that his attention should be called to the subject, and that Her Majesty's Government should use their influence, as promptly as practicable, with the Sovereign of Affghanistan for the extinction of slavery in his dominions.

In thus respectfully urging this important subject on the attention of your Lordship, the Committee feel assured that the object they have in view will meet with your Lordship's sympathy and interest, and with that of the British nation at large.

On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

We are, very respectfully,

JOSEPH COOPER,
EDMUND STURGE,
ROBERT ALSOP,
Hon. Secs.
BENJAMIN MILLARD, *Sec.*

27, *New Broad Street, London,*
12th March, 1874.

REPLY OF LORD SALISBURY.

India Office, March 13th, 1874.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, calling attention to the slave-trade and slavery alleged to exist very extensively throughout the Affghan territories, and requesting that the attention of the Ameer of Affghanistan may be called to the subject, with the view to the extinction of slavery in his dominions.

In reply, I have to assure you that I fully sympathise with the views expressed in your letter, a copy of which I will at once forward to the Government of India, with a request that they will furnish me with a full report on the subject.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,
SALISBURY.

The Honorary Secretaries of The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

II.—"THE SUPPRESSED TREATIES AND THE IGNORED PROCLAMATION."

Now as to the alleged suzerainty of Kashmir over Chitrál. I have stated over and over again that Chitrál, Yasin, Hunza, Nagyr and other similar poverty-stricken principalities acknowledge *any* power within their possible reach as their protector, or rather milch-cow, provided they can get something in the shape of blackmail or subsidy in return for professions of humility and friendship and for such presents as a bag or two of apricots, a handful of gold-dust (as in the case of Hunza), or a couple of goats.* During, and after, the very time that Aman-ul-Mulk is supposed to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, I had messengers of his staying in the compound of my house at Lahore and if this alleged Treaty had been more than a *façon de parler*, I should certainly have known of it. What I, however, did know was, that whenever Aman-ul-Mulk wanted to get money out of the Indian Government by the conventional repetition of expressions of goodwill, such as are used in the East from every inferior to a superior Chief, he was steadily snubbed.†

As regards Kashmir, its encroachment, beyond the boundary of the Indus at Bunji, which I discovered and reported in 1866, was looked upon by the British Government as an infringement of the Treaty of 1846 when we sold the happy valley and its unhappy people to Maharaja Gulab Singh. Had the Indian Government then sanctioned, or connived at, the encroachments made by Kashmir,—though it has since snatched the prey from the weaker usurper—attempts would not have been made on

* The Republican communities of Dareyl, Tangir, Gabriál, etc., and even Chilás which paid a nominal tribute to Kashmir since 1852, want nothing except to be left alone.

† See remarks by T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., late Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, at the Meeting of the Society of Arts in April 1895, in connexion with the proposed Chitrál Expedition. Read also the articles in the "Fortnightly" and the "Nineteenth Century" of Sir Lepel Griffin, for many years the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government.

my life and I should not have been offered large bribes (which, I need not say, I refused) not to mention these encroachments to the Government. The Government, indeed, recalled the attention of Kashmir to the Treaty of 1846, which has not been, and cannot be, formally set aside without, at least, the return, with interest, of the purchase-money to the Maharaja of Kashmir. No doubt in 1877 a policy of aggression took the place of the "masterly inactivity" till then pursued; but it is idle to say that this country, which rang with indignation at the report made by Hayward of the massacres of the fair Yasin women and children by the Kashmir troops, will now believe that anything like real allegiance was tendered by a distant Muhammadan Chief to the abhorred Sikhs and Dogras.

The real object of Aman-ul-Mulk's Treaty, or rather tender of good-will, if not of quasi-allegiance, to Kashmir in 1876-77, was to obtain an increased blackmail for not raiding Gilgit, and he fully earned his money when, some years later, in November, 1880, he fell with his troops in the rear of Pahlwan, his nominal feudatory in Yasin, who was trying to turn our Resident, Major Biddulph, out of Gilgit, with, at least, the happy result that that *fons et origo malorum* was abandoned till, under insufficient and incorrect representations, the Gilgit Agency was re-established in 1889. Aman-ul-Mulk had annexed Yasin for himself in 1880 without any reference to Kashmir, (that might have preferred to put in a member of the Khushwaqtia, or of Isa Bahadur's family), or to the Government of India or to anybody else. Aman-ul-Mulk had also installed his heir-apparent, Nizám-ul-Mulk, as Governor of Yasin, and he, at all events, did not know or ever hint to me that he had been installed by any Kashmir participation. So much for the Chitrál-Kashmir Treaty, the signature to which I should like to examine, as I did the seal to Aman-ul-Mulk's supposed instructions to murder Hayward of the Geographical Society.

The relation of Chitrál with Afghanistan was, however,

on an entirely different footing. To begin with its rulers, although not rigid Muhammadans, had ever to acknowledge the general superiority of the first of neighbouring Muhammadan chiefs, namely the Amir of Afghanistan. This was, of course, a very platonic attachment, the true nature of which showed itself when Aman-ul-Mulk in one and the same breath offered his allegiance to both Kashmir and Afghanistan, plus a secret participation in a movement for Jihád against the British. The real object of Aman-ul-Mulk was to be independent of all the three powers and to get subsidies from them in return for fair words. I dare say that more than this will not be found when the supposed treaty of allegiance to Kashmir comes to be printed, as it should be, in the original Persian, accompanied by a trustworthy translation.

Chitrál was, indeed, in a state of real dependence, whenever it could not assert itself, on Badakhshán to the North and on Dîr to the South, especially when Dîr was under the able Ghazan Khan. Badakhshán, moreover, was independent of Afghanistan till the bosom-friend and fellow-fugitive of the Amir Abdurrahman Khan, the chivalrous Jehandár Shah, was dispossessed by the Afghan faction, headed by Mir Mahmud Shah, assisted by Sher Ali's troops. Amir Abdurrahman Khan would have been the very last man to interfere with the independence of Badakhshán, but, on his return to power, it had already become a province of Afghanistan. As for Dîr, the Afghan over-lordship had the same ebb and flow as with the Bajaur States, including Jandôl.

I have no hesitation in stating that one and all of the complications with Chilás, Hunza-Nagyr, the Pamirs and Chitrál have solely arisen from the personal ambition of our officials under the influence of the K.C.S.I. or "K.C.B. mania," as called by a late Commander-in-Chief. I assert from my own knowledge, that not only in 1866, but also as late as 1886, the very name of Russia was unknown in Dardistan. Russia abstained, especially after the Granville-Gortchakoff

treaty of 1872-73, from all expeditions within a hundred miles of the Pamirs and the alleged visit of Grombtcheffsky to Hunza proper (which I deny) was a very slight tit-for-tat to the never-ceasing restlessness of our authorized and unauthorized agents. The Hunza raids had stopped in 1867; those of Chilás in 1855; yet all these raids were re-invented in 1891-93 to justify, in public opinion, our occupation, at a ruinous expense, of countries that formed bulwarks to our Empire, so long as we did not break them down. In 1872 I was already pointing out at the Anthropological and other Societies that "Kashmir and Afghanistan were approaching their respective frontiers to the detriment of the intervening tribes" and I anticipated "the day on which the last Kafir girl would be sold to an Afghan by her father in order to escape a worse fate for himself and her," but I never foresaw that this crime against humanity would be perpetrated with the treaty aid of England and so shortly after the visit of Dr. Robertson to Kafiristan, where he was received with hospitality. The *Standard* finds some consolation for the extermination of the Kafirs in the circumstance that before this undesirable consummation, Sir George was enabled to collect their legends and to see their primitive state as unaltered for a thousand years, but even this consolation does not exist, for I find that this ambitious medico talks of the ancient Kafir belief in *Bisht* and *Zozakh* which is merely the ordinary Persian *Bhisht* and *Dozakh*, probably used by a Muhammadan follower or interpreter. That the degeneracy of Dardistan was inevitable owing to the approach of Kashmir and Indian influences, I foretold in 1866 and found to be the case in 1886, but it has not yet proceeded so far, as would be inferred from Dr. Robertson's statements, who would have been better employed to cure than to inflict wounds. Colonel Durand, at a still later date, found a purity of language and of legendary lore where corruption had already set in. The fact is that without a linguistic training, "the traveller even when he sees is blind," as an Arabic proverb has it. This ignorance of

languages is really at the bottom of the failure of the highest functionaries in England, if not in India, of dealing thoroughly with any Oriental, or indeed, any foreign, question. This ignorance is painfully evident in the negotiations, leading to the otherwise acceptable Granville-Gortchakoff agreement of 1872-73, for instead of its drawing a line, as I then publicly suggested, excluding all approach to the Chitrál-Peshawur route, the amplest details of which were then already in my possession, a vague frontier was drawn the adoption of which now leaves Badakhshan altogether exposed.

If a march was really stolen by the late Liberal Ministry on the Russian Government in the *pourparlers* for the Pamir agreement, that document is likely to be renounced, in practice at all events, as mentioned in my article on "the future of Chitrál and surrounding countries" in the July number of this Review. There is no necessity for any treaty. The Hindukush forms the southern boundary of Russia, which now occupies the coveted concentrated position which we held on the line of the Indus, before evil counsellors caused us to scatter our strength in the nominal addition to our Empire of some 75,000 square miles of inhospitable territory, if we include British Beluchistan that Sir Robert Sandeman meant as the starting-point for an advance on Ghazni.

The alliance of France with Russia, founded as much on financial obligations as on resentments to the rest of Europe, gives the one aid in Egypt and the other a free hand as regards India. It will now bear fruit in continued alarms along our Indian frontiers, probably entailing new expeditions (there is the "Asmar key" still left) and draining our revenues, till the Indian population is driven to despair or rebellion under the burden of ever-increasing taxation wasted apparently in order that the mischief-makers be knighted. The Indian Chiefs, or such of them as the new school of Politicals may leave with any power, will, no doubt, fight for us to the last, but it is

imprudent to leave them with grievances which Russia promises to redress. As for the Indian peoples, our interference with caste and their anglicisation have sapped the foundations of their social fabric and of our rule. They are also learning discontent in our schools, whilst we are adding seditious elements in the new acquisitions. After all, India cannot be kept on the present scale of pay and also enjoy Frontier wars, and a smaller rate of remuneration will not be worth the while of 'the commercial instincts of an imperial race.' There is, therefore, no need for an invasion of India if the present policy of wanton encroachments is continued, for the country is ripening, or rather rotting, for any power that will have it and undertake to govern it at half the present amount of salaries, which would then still be largely in excess of the remuneration given to French and Russian functionaries, not to speak of the employés of Native States.

It is significant that none of the advocates of a "forward" policy have anything like the same intimate knowledge of the frontiers now concerned, such as is possessed by Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Neville Chamberlain, Sir James Lyall, Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Chelmsford and others, whilst Lord Roberts, who is the sole real expert on the other side, himself advocated the withdrawal from every part of the frontier that he personally knows and only recommends advance in those parts that he does not know. Just as the Russian victory at Panjdeh brought about a closer Anglo-Afghan Alliance, so will the occupation of Chitrál eventually lead to a combination of the tribes against us under Russian auspices. As for the inhabitants of unhealthy Swat (where sickness now rages among our troops) asking our Government to take their country over, this is a very transparent device to get over the pledges of the Proclamation and he would be a very poor "Political" who, anywhere in, or just beyond, India could not get up such petitions. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians and Germans travelling in Kashmir may remember how every Kashmiri boatman or

coolie would ask them: "Do come and take our country" and in India, foreigners are sometimes begged by native sycophants to save them "from the rapacious English." These are mere "*captationes benevolentiæ*" by the vile among the conquered and no got-up telegrams to the newspapers from prejudiced correspondents should induce us to depart from the letter and spirit of our Proclamation to the tribes.* The Proclamation, as our readers may remember, ran, as follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

"TO ALL the people of Swat and Bajour who do not side with Umra Khan:—

"Be it known to you and any other persons concerned, that:

"Umra Khan, Chief of Jandol, in spite of his repeated assurances of friendship to the British Government and regardless of frequent warnings to refrain from interfering with the affairs of Chitrál, which is a protected State under the suzerainty of Kashmir, has forcibly entered the Chitrál Valley and attacked the Chitrál people.

"The Government of India have *now* given Umra Khan *full* warning, that unless he retires from Chitrál by the 1st of April, corresponding

REMARKS.

This proclamation is clearly only intended to meet the alleged Umra Khan usurpation, and has nothing whatever to do with protecting Chitrál from *Russian* aggression, as has been maintained in Parliament by taking the third paragraph out of connection with its context.

Umra Khan was invited into Chitrál territory; had, indeed, been there off and on with the knowledge and occasional consent of our Government. He was enthusiastically joined by nearly all the Chitrális, when Sher Afzul threw his lot in with him.

The troops crossed the frontier before the 1st April had expired, or before they could have possibly known that Umra Khan had retired

* The "Times" heads as "Retention of Chitrál" what could only refer to the tribes between the Malakand Pass and the Panjkora river, namely "the Ranizais, Swatis, *Adinazais* (?) and the inhabitants of the *Kalash* valley." Now the Ranizais and Adamzais *are* Swatis and "Kalash" is merely the adjoining Talash District and not the Kalashas of Chitrál. No doubt, some of the Swati Maliks or Headmen would miss our Rupees, but, great as the timidity of the Swatis has ever been, I do not believe that, as a body, they would offer to pay revenue, "to give land gratis for posts" or "to be taken over." Such rumours are ever circulated by "the forward party," whose wish is father to their thought.

with 5th day of Shawal 1312, H., they will use force to compel him to do so, in order to carry out this purpose.* They have arranged to assemble on the Peshawar border a force of sufficient strength to overcome all resistance and to march this force through Umra Khan's territory TOWARDS Chitrál.

"The sole object of the Government of India is to put an end to the present and prevent any future unlawful aggression on Chitrál territory, *and as soon as this object has been attained the force will be withdrawn.* [*the italics are mine.*]

"*The Government of India have no intention of permanently occupying any territory*, through which Umra Khan's misconduct may *now* force them to pass, or of interfering with the independence of the tribes; and they will scrupulously avoid any acts of hostility towards the tribesmen, so long as they on their part refrain from attacking or impeding in any way the march of the troops. Supplies and transport will be paid for, and all persons are at liberty to pursue their ordinary avocations in perfect security."

* How can it be true that "*full* warning" was "*now* given," when the Proclamation was only telegraphed by the Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, to the Chief Secretary of the Panjab Government on the 14th March, 1895, or little more than a fortnight before the long-planned expedition took place, and then only that it "be issued," and that "its purport be generally communicated upon the border"?

by that date. Umra Khan, however, did leave shortly after, so that it became unnecessary for the troops to turn him out of Chitrál. We only threatened to march *towards* Chitrál, but we not only went through Jandol, *after* Umra Khan's resistance had ceased, but we also advanced *into* Chitrál.

As the whole proclamation only refers to Umra Khan's aggression, and he had put an end to it himself by his flight to Afghan territory, the force, that is to say the whole force, sent to turn him out, ought at once to have been withdrawn, if faith had been kept.

This pledge clearly means that there will be no occupation whatever after the object of the expedition had been achieved. "Not permanently" is merely a paraphrase of "temporarily." It certainly does not mean the occupation of Chitrál itself by any of our troops; it clearly makes the present retention of the country, of and from, the Malakand to the East of the Panjkora river a breach of the proclamation; and it *does* interfere with the independence of the tribes by placing a force at Sado to overawe Dîr, and by transferring Barawal to that friendly ally, who, forgetting his own grievances, scattered Umra Khan's forces and took Sher Afzul prisoner, thus alone raising the siege of Chitrál and achieving the avowed objects of the expedition of Low's army and of Kelly's plucky march.

In conclusion, I would, in deep anxiety for the true prestige of England and the claims of our common humanity, appeal to all honest men to oppose, by every means within their power, alike the breach of the Proclamation and the enslavement of Kafiristan.

APPENDIX AND NOTES.

I have ever been strongly opposed to the pretensions of Kashmir on Dardistan, but I prefer them to the much greater evil of our own constant interference or the destruction of Kafiristan by Pathan raids. Kashmir has every right to our consideration and is really in the position of a neighbouring Ally, rather than that of a feudatory within the limits of India proper, with the following distinct advantage that, instead of getting a subsidy from us, it has *bought* its INDEPENDENCE with a large sum of money when we were much in want of it;* that Gulâb Singh rendered us the greatest service at the time and that recently Kashmir money and troops have helped us to conquer our present position in Dardistan, though it is one of *Væ victoribus* as

* EXTRACT FROM TREATY BETWEEN KASHMÎR AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

(*For full text see* "*A.O.R.*" *of October*, 1893.)

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over FOR EVER, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus† and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

[The second article refers to the Eastern boundary, which does not concern us.]

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the TERRITORIES of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government. [They have not been formally changed, and, if so changed, would *add* Dardistan to his *territories in independent possession*.]

Article V. refers any dispute with the Government of Lahore or any neighbouring State to the *arbitration* of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions. [There is no stipulation for the British troops to join him in order to maintain any SUZERAINTY over any neighbouring State, though Art. IX. engages to protect his territories from external enemies.]

† This excludes Gilgit, Hunza-Nagyr, Yasin, Chitrâl, etc. which are to the *West* of the Indus and also excludes any present or future "Dependencies" that did not exist in 1846.

much as of *Væ victis!* With our retirement from Gilgit, to which we ought never to have gone and which was to have controlled Chitrál, just as Chitrál is now to control some other point which in its turn only leads to other "keys to India" and similar inventions of the Jingoes, we should, at once, revert to our previous state of safety and economy. Kashmir also has shown that her maladministration, to which I have so often drawn attention, is, in the long run, more effective and infinitely less costly and dangerous to India, than our own methods of mismanagement which only tend to entangle us with Russia and to alienate us from our subjects, who, above all things, dislike our tearing out, as it were, the Indian Deodar in order to kill here and there the ever-buzzing frontier hornet. Indeed, the loyalty of our own Muhammadan soldiers, as was shown in the last Afghan campaign, is taxed to the utmost when opposed to their correligionists or when suffering in the field, as they ever will, from the gross neglect of their claims or comforts by our impersonal routine regulations. Of course, military races like the Rajputs, Sikhs, Gurkhas, etc., may be armed *en masse* to resist the invasion of a foreign foe, but an approach to anything like conscription in India would increase an already intolerable taxation and precipitate the inevitable bankruptcy.—to us, the loss.—of India, without the necessity of a foreign invasion or even the possible rising of exasperated and pauperized subjects. It is, therefore,—putting the matter on the lowest ground,—to the distinct interest of every Englishman, employed in India, not to kill the goose that lays the depreciated silver eggs, by wasting them on expeditions like the one recently concluded against Chitrál.

NOTE 1.

An anonymous writer in the September number of "Blackwood's Magazine," who was previously announced in the "Times" as giving an authoritative account of the Chitrál expedition, makes so many mistakes as regards dates and facts in his attempt to show that we were, and are, bound to support the suzerainty of Kashmir over Dardistan, including Chitrál, that it would require a special article to refute them *seriatim*. Suffice it to say, that we are only in the unenviable position of having first

forbidden, then connived at, and, finally, appropriated for our own use, the encroachments of Kashmir, which State, ever since the last Maharaja's death, has constantly been put forward, or been put down, for any questionable work or expense that we had not the courage to father ourselves. One is at a great disadvantage in discussing with an anonymous writer the subject of our unprovoked aggression on Chitrál, against which men like Sir Neville Chamberlain threw the weight of their names, but the date of the article—8th July—sufficiently indicates its source and object. At that time, the generally silent and pliant Viceroy, Lord Elgin, was mainly concerned in explaining away the unfavorable impression caused by his incautious admission that the murder of Nizam-ul-Mulk was foreseen, but he still seems to have kept a mind open to conviction, either way, as to the evacuation of Chitrál. In the words that conclude the "Blackwood Magazine" article:

"Either let us withdraw from the country entirely, or else hold it in sufficient strength, and with a sufficiently assured line of communication, to prevent the recurrence of such a state of affairs as has lately cost the empire so much in money and in valuable lives."

That the practical annexation, however, of Chitrál was contemplated since 1876 is obvious from a careful perusal of the very first letter dated 11th June, 1877, which opens the Blue-book. In 1889 (page 11) the Mehtar's assistance in opening up the Peshawar-Chitrál road is already made the first condition of his increased subsidy. In 1892 it was even arranged to give the lower part of Chitrál, the Nari or Narsati villages, to Umra Khan (in return, no doubt, for his helping in keeping open the Peshawar-Chitrál road). Imitating our own previous stealthy advance towards Quetta, we,

> "*With Tarquin's ravishing strides towards his design,*
> *Moved like a ghost.*"

When the time came that had long been prepared by our *agents provocateurs*, we were ready to march in at the first excuse—the murder of Nizám-ul-Mulk that had been actually foreseen, yet had not been prevented, as it so easily might have been with any real knowledge of the people and country. Umra Khan was found fault with in being where he had occasional encouragement to be. The miraculous readiness of the Commissariat, not to speak of the silent and sudden readiness of 18,000 men, must have taken everyone by surprise who, like myself, (as Chief Interpreter during the Russian War in 1855) has had the honor to serve in that most deliberate Department. In one short month we were in Chitrál and only the credulous can contend that we entered on the expedition without long and carefully planned preparations, or simply because we were suddenly called upon to rescue Robertson, who had no business at all to be interned in Chitrál. Considering the mysteries that have to be concealed, I wonder that all the actors in the Chitrál tragedy were not raised to the peerage.

History may, however, yet chronicle the names of those officers who were ordered back from England for an expedition beyond the Punjab Frontier some time before the murder of Nizám-ul-Mulk or the prompted siege of Chitrál.

Note 2.

Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the countries in the region of the Pamirs—London, March 11, 1895.

"1. The spheres of influence of Great Britain and Russia to the east of Lake Victoria (Zor Koul) shall be divided by a line which, starting from a point on that lake near to its eastern extremity, shall follow the crests of the mountain range running somewhat to the south of the latitude of the lake as far as the Bendersky and Orta-Bel Passes.

From thence the line shall run along the same range while it remains to the south of the latitude of the said lake. On reaching that latitude it shall descend a spur of the range towards Kizil Rabat on the Aksu River, if that locality is found not to be north of the latitude of Lake Victoria, and from thence it shall be prolonged in an easterly direction so as to meet the Chinese frontier.

If it should be found that Kizil Rabat is situated to the north of the latitude of Lake Victoria, the line of demarcation shall be drawn to the nearest convenient point on the Aksu River south of that latitude, and from thence prolonged as aforesaid.

2. The line shall be marked out, and its precise configuration shall be settled by a Joint Commission of a purely technical character, with a military escort not exceeding that which is strictly necessary for its proper protection.

The Commission shall be composed of British and Russian Delegates, with the necessary technical assistance.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government will arrange with the Ameer of Afghanistan as to the manner in which His Highness shall be represented on the Commission.

3. The Commission shall also be charged to report any facts which can be ascertained on the spot bearing on the situation of the Chinese frontier, with a view to enable the two Governments to come to an agreement with the Chinese Government as to the limits of Chinese territory in the vicinity of the line, in such manner as may be found most convenient.

4. Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia engage to abstain from exercising any political influence or control, the former to the north, the latter to the south, of the above line of demarcation.

5. Her Britannic Majesty's Government engage that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence between the Hindu Kush and the line running from the east end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Ameer of Afghanistan, that it shall not be annexed to Great Britain, and that no military posts or forts shall be established in it.

The execution of this Agreement is contingent upon the evacuation by the Ameer of Afghanistan of all the territories now occupied by His Highness on the right bank of the Panjah, and on the evacuation by the Ameer of Bokhara of the portion of Darwaz which lies to the south of the Oxus,

in regard to which Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia have agreed to use their influence respectively with the two Ameers."

Note 3.

In my last article I especially endeavoured to show the importance of preserving the independence, and, with it, the warlike spirit of tribes that would be lost for the defence of their own homes and as a recruiting-ground for our own army, once we subdue them. I also could not conceive the possibility of our Indian troops ever becoming so increased as to be able to hold in force, in their entire length, several of the routes beyond our own true frontier to those of Russian territory, whereas the late expedition has, at least, shown how quickly we could mobilize* to meet an invader advancing, in a necessarily straggling and exhausted condition, out of "the sea of mountains" on to India proper. I am further convinced that our "imperial ascendancy" depends on our keeping faith, for, although even the timid Swatis were bound to make a stand against us at the Malakand Pass in order "to save their tribal honour," their resistance was only half-hearted, most of their religious leaders discountenanced it, and there was no serious combination of the tribes, because the Buneris, Momands and other *fighting* tribes thoroughly believed in our proclamation to evacuate the Swat-Chitrál road, as soon as Umra Khan was defeated and Chitrál relieved. No imaginable advantage can outweigh the dishonour of breaking that pledge by continuing to occupy that road, which can be better defended by the Ranizai Chief, the Dir Ally (and even the reinstated Jandôli, (if we *must* go via Bajaur), at a cost of, say, two thousand pounds per annum than by maintaining our own troops in foreign and hostile territory to the ruin of the Indian finances. Finally, I think that our evacuation of Chitrál and neighbouring countries can alone preserve a group of languages and customs from extinction, the almost primeval purity of which is necessary to the successful investigation of the history of human thought, as expressed in speech and habits, especially of our own, the Aryan, form of civilization. To an appeal on behalf of such a cause, I cannot believe that a man of the scientific and literary stamp of Lord Salisbury can turn a deaf ear.

As this is going to press, a "Times" telegram announces that the country *West* of the Panjkora river is not to be retained; that some British troops are to remain; that Dîr is to administer Barawal and that Bajaur is to be governed by its tribes. Such a decision only throws dust into the eyes of the British public. It means that the country EAST of the Panjkora is to be retained in defiance of the proclamation, according to which no troops whatever were to occupy the Peshawar-Chitrál road,—1,100 independent tribesmen in the traditional local forts could far more efficiently keep that road than any number of our troops. Dir is to be overawed in spite of its services to us, and Barawal is a Pandora gift to Dîr that must lead to fresh troubles. The arrangement, however, of leaving Bajaur to its own chiefs, and of placing Abdulmajid, the cousin of Umra Khan, at the head of Manda, if not of the whole of Jandôl, seems to be eminently satisfactory. I still hope that a member of the Khushwaqtia family may be placed on the throne of Yasin, though I regret the separation of that province from Chitrál.

* It was considered desirable to ascertain by an *experimentum in corpore vilo*—the lives and homes of inoffensive Chitrális—how well and quickly we could mobilize. Alas! for our state of civilization!

THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES OF INDIA, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE EMPIRE.*

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

Lord Salisbury in 1866—when, as Lord Cranborne and member for Stamford, he was addressing his constituents on his appointment as Secretary of State for India—made a memorable declaration as to the spirit of the new policy that was thenceforward to rule the dealings of the Paramount Power with the Sovereign Princes of India. He said:—

"Statesmen of all Parties have arrived at the conclusion that we now hold in India pretty well as much as we can govern, and that we should be pursuing an unwise and dangerous policy if we tried to extend our borders, or to lessen the power or the permanence of those Native Rulers upon whose assistance we have so long relied. I believe the Native Princes were formerly the objects of jealousy and distrust to English rulers, but within the last ten years a great change has come over the spirit of our statesmanship in that respect; and there is now, I think, a general desire to uphold them in the rights and honours which they justly earned by their loyal support at the time of the Mutiny, and to look upon them, not as impediments to our rule, but as its most useful auxiliaries."

On many great and momentous occasions during the twenty-nine years that have passed since these weighty words were uttered, the Government of India and the Secretary of State have combined to give effect to this policy. It had been inaugurated, in a tentative way, by Lord Canning and Sir Charles Wood in November, 1860, by the retrocession to the Nizám of two important provinces of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts. But its most notable illustration was the "Rendition" of Mysore. That great and most successful act of Imperial policy was sanctioned by Lord Salisbury in his Dispatch of October 4, 1877. The elaborate and ingenious details of its execution were devised and arranged by Lord Lytton, under the guidance of our noble Chairman, Lord Cranbrook; and Lord Salisbury in those days, as now, also had the advantage of the assistance of the present Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, who was Under Secretary for India. And those details were assented to and carried out by Lord Ripon and Lord Hartington.

Moreover, it is impossible to doubt that the considerations here formulated by Lord Salisbury had full weight with Lord Northbrook in dealing with the deplorable case of the late Malhar Rao, Gaekwár of Baroda, and with Lord Lansdowne in dealing with Manipur. The case of Kashmir, differing altogether from those I have mentioned, has doubtless been settled—so far as it may be regarded as settled—on similar principles. And one may be permitted to hope—though the public is at present absolutely in the dark as to its merits—that the case of Bhartpur, which appears to be now causing serious anxiety, may ultimately be similarly provided for.

We are all glad to believe that in all these and kindred cases of difficulty—some of which appear to have gone hardly with the Chiefs concerned, while some have terminated more satisfactorily, and others still await settlement—the best possible motives have guided the Government of India and the Simla Foreign Office. I think that those who have carefully studied

* For an account of the history and results of this Lecture see remarks at its conclusion.

the points at issue—I am not now speaking merely of the "experts" of the Indian Political Department—would go further than this, and admit that, in the great majority of cases, perhaps all, the best practical arrangement possible in the circumstances has been arrived at. And so, too, it will be generally admitted that, when due allowances have been made for the complicated and transitional situation, the happiness and prosperity of the people of the Protected States, as well as the dignity and the security of the Chiefs, have been on the whole well cared for.

On the other hand, none but the most confirmed optimist would maintain that the existing system, or lack of system, is entirely satisfactory, either to the Government of India, or to the Protected Princes and their subjects. I have no doubt that sound reasons exist for the policy indicated in the answer given by Mr. H. H. Fowler, in the House of Commons the other day, regarding the suspension or deposition of the Chief of Bhartpur —which was, roughly speaking, to the effect that the public interest precluded any public information being given on the subject. That is the way in which, under the existing system, all such questions have to be met, when there is any real friction or serious political difficulty affecting either the people of a State or its Chief. The most profound and reasonable dissatisfaction may exist for years among a large part of the population, as was long the case in Kashmir, or in the heart of the Chief, as in the case of the late Nizám's demands for the Berars during the administration of the first Sir Salar Jung; and yet the necessities of the so-called "Political" system not seldom force the Secretary of State to stifle all inquiry and to refuse all redress. Such a system is clearly not a satisfactory one, from the point of view of the Indian Government. It is not more satisfactory to the peoples of the Protected States; for its vagueness encourages intrigue and makes reform difficult or impossible, while the irresistible might of the Empire, acting thus vaguely and blindly, must sometimes crush just resistance to an oppression that would otherwise be swept away in a moment. And least of all can it be satisfactory to the Princes themselves, who find themselves absolutely at the mercy of an irresistible power, whose rules of action are unknown and unknowable, and are exercised through a Resident in regard to whom no one knows the limits of his responsibility or his authority. Mr. Lee-Warner, in his instructive work on *The Protected Princes of India*, wrote "There is no question that there is a paramount power in the British Crown, but perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined; there is a subordination in the Native States, but perhaps it is better understood and not explained." That is all very well; and vague indefinite powers of this sort are harmless, and perhaps beneficial, in the hands of high-minded and benevolent officers like Mr. Lee-Warner. But no responsible statesman will maintain that the relations of a great Empire with its protected Princes should be at the discretion of any officer, or any body of officers, however high-minded and benevolent. Nor is it fair to the Protected Princes—any more than it would be fair to the average British citizen to tell him that he does not need the *Habeas Corpus* Act and the other safeguards of the liberty of the subject from the time of *Magna Charta* downwards, because of the undoubted highmindedness and

benevolence of Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt or Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour.

During the past two years, two works of the highest importance and authority have been published on the subject of this paper, from the pens of two of the ablest, most sympathetic, and most highly-placed officers of the Indian Political Department. I refer to Mr. Lee-Warner's *Protected Princes of India*, quoted above, and to Mr. C. L. Tupper's *Our Indian Protectorate*. The proper official disclaimer of official authority is, of course, entered as a *caveat* by each of these distinguished writers; and I do not wish in the slightest degree to attach to their writings any formal official authority, or to fix on the Government of India any responsibility for opinions which cannot be held to have been formally endorsed by them. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that, with the exception of the Foreign Secretary himself—who is generally understood to be not one whit behind the most liberal-minded of his officers in his desire to adjust our Imperial relations with the Protected Princes in the most fair and equitable spirit—no officers of the Political Department speak with greater knowledge and experience, or carry greater weight, than the writers I have named. And I venture to think that the almost simultaneous publication of two most elaborate constitutional treatises on this subject, emanating from such a quarter, is a clear indication that the time has come when public opinion is ripe, at least among experts, for a more definite formulation of an Imperial Constitution.

That being so, I know of no more appropriate arena for the discussion of this great question—so far as it can be usefully discussed by the public outside the Council-chambers of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State—than in a meeting of the East India Association and in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

The inner circle of experts have already declared themselves, in the pages of Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper; but the Government of India would probably hesitate to act, in matters of such grave import, even on such weighty authority as theirs, until the question has been thoroughly sifted in that far larger circle of public opinion that is voiced by the English and vernacular Press of India, and in assemblies such as that of the East India Association. The whole question is obviously one of such great and vital importance to the future of the Indian Empire, that I trust the discussion initiated by this Association to-day, on the special and unanimous suggestion of our Council, will be at once taken up and threshed out in every one of the great journals of India. In that case, I have little doubt of what will then be seen to be the drift of public opinion among those who are qualified to form an impartial judgment; and the Government of India has, in my humble opinion, always shown itself ready, and indeed eager, to accept conclusions thus adequately canvassed and deliberately adopted.

Though Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper trace the evolution of the existing state of affairs through all its transformations in every part of India from the earliest times—though they subject its phenomena, so far as known, to a skilful philosophical analysis by the most scholarly methods

—though profound historical knowledge is brought to bear on an exhaustive comparative investigation—they are both compelled at last to admit that no such thing as an Imperial Constitution can be described as known. No approximation to a system can be obtained out of the chaotic mass of "Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads," that are supposed to govern these relations. And even as to the fundamental nature of those relations, Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper are at issue. The latter holds that the tie is a "feudatory" one; while the former declares that it is a "Subordinate Union," and adds that it is "impossible to maintain that the tie between the British Government and its protected allies is feudatory."

Both Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper give a good account of the measures taken by Lord Lytton, on the occasion of the Proclamation of the Empire in 1877, to formulate an Imperial Constitution, such as is now demanded. Those measures, following Lord Mayo's initiative, were—so far as they were carried out—of the highest value; and I believe that, if their natural development had not been interrupted, they would long ago have provided a complete solution of this great question with all its many difficulties.

But unfortunately Lord Lytton left India prematurely, and many of the most valuable threads of his Imperial policy were then dropped. I have already pointed out that that policy, at least in its main bearings, must have had the sanction, not only of the late Lord Beaconsfield, who was then Prime Minister, but also of Lord Cranbrook and Lord George Hamilton, who were then at the India Office. I venture to suggest that it is to the resumption of that policy that we must look for the consolidation and perfection of the Indian Imperial system.

Take, for instance, the Imperial Council, which ought to have grown, naturally and spontaneous—in the one direction, into an Imperial Diet of the highest value for consultative, and even ultimately for legislative purposes—and in the other direction, by means of a Judicial Committee, into a grand judicial tribunal for Imperial causes. I suppose that that Council still exists in name, for some of the greatest of the Sovereign Princes of India accepted the title of "Councillor of the Empress" in 1877; but as far as one can judge from the public prints, its functions have been allowed to fall entirely into abeyance. And what is still more to be regretted is, that the Princes, who in this way signalised their willingness to be brought into closer and more personal relations with the Empire, and whose Imperial sentiments were thus reciprocated and honoured by Her Majesty, have consequently never really received that increase of dignity and consideration which was undoubtedly expected to accrue to them.

I remember that at the time it was very commonly expected that that Council would grow into an Indian analogue, on a greater and more Imperial scale, of our English Privy Council; and that it would ultimately include, not only the great Princes of India, but also the heads of the British Indian Governments. And if such an august body had been strengthened on its judicial side—much as the House of Lords is strengthened by the Law Lords—by the addition of the Chief Justices of

the Supreme Courts, it was thought by many that it would form an ideal tribunal, admirably qualified to deal, by the machinery of Committees, with every case of difficulty arising between the Empire and the Sovereign Princes, or between the Princes themselves, or between them and their subjects. I do not wish for a moment to be understood to say that all these developments were within the purview of Lord Lytton's intentions; for I do not know that it was so, though I believe it was. But it is obvious that they might have fairly and reasonably arisen out of the measures adopted by that Viceroy; and my desire this afternoon is, to advocate the taking up again of Lord Lytton's liberal Imperial policy of 1877, with the view of carrying it to its legitimate conclusion. Of one thing I am quite sure, that Lord Lytton's warmly sympathetic and generous nature, of which I knew much both as a friend and as a subordinate, would never have rested content with the present chaos, which is as unfair to the Princes as it must be occasionally distressing to every high-minded Viceroy and Secretary of State.

The Sovereign rights of the Princes are known to every historian, and are admitted by every writer—by none more clearly than the distinguished political officers whom I have quoted. As Sovereigns, their right to nominate and dismiss their own officers is equally unquestioned. It is said that in extreme cases the absolutely free exercise of this undoubted right may prove dangerous to the peace of the Empire—and that, since the Paramount Power is *ex naturâ rei* responsible for the maintenance of that peace, some amount of control must in the last resort, under any Constitution, be retained by that Power. Here, then, arises at the very outset a great and notable difficulty—*nodus vindice dignus*—how to provide for this control being retained only in the last resort, without derogation of the Sovereign dignity of the Princes, or an infringement of their personal rights and personal independence. It seems to me highly probable that Lord Lytton contemplated an agreement that would clothe the Imperial Council of Princes and Governors with power to act in such an emergency—a power that obviously might be exercised without any derogation of sovereign rights. But however this may be, it seems clear that nothing could be worse than the absolute lack of provision, in existing circumstances, for any such emergency. The question has been allowed to slide; and when utterly insuperable difficulties have arisen—as in Baroda and in Manipur on a large and flagrant scale, and possibly on a smaller and more doubtful scale in Kashmir, Bhartpur, and elsewhere—the Viceroy has found himself most reluctantly compelled to cut the Gordian knot in a summary fashion, and in default of any law or precedent, to take the heavy responsibility, inexorably imposed on him by his duty, of creating a precedent for himself.

The *Times* of July 2nd, in its article on "Indian Affairs," tells us of an important difficulty that has arisen "in regard to the judicial relations between British India and the Feudatory States"; and the able and sensible remarks of our leading journal seem to me to throw a vivid light on the absolute necessity for immediate reform in this connection. Long ago I pointed out, in an article on Mr. Lee-Warner's *Protected Princes* in

the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the gross defects of the present system. Mr. Lee-Warner wrote :—

"At present, however," he writes, "the two parts of the Empire are divided by separate legislations, separate judicial systems, and in its ordinary sense a separate allegiance. For, although the Manipur case has established the principle that both rulers and their subjects owe allegiance to Her Majesty, and can commit the crime of murdering British subjects, for which offence they will be tried by a British Court, still the subjects of the Native States cannot in British India claim the rights of British subjects without the process of naturalization. If then the States are destined to be drawn into constitutional relations with British India, an entire reversal of past policy will be necessary, and the theory of a Constitutional tie may be rejected as inapplicable to present circumstances."

And on this statement I offered the following comment :—

"This is probably a perfectly accurate and judicious, as it is certainly a perfectly frank, description of 'present circumstances.' But is not the mere statement of them sufficient to brand our policy as a selfish and one-sided one, and to show that its 'entire reversal,' and the establishment of 'constitutional relations,' are things much to be desired? The relations here described are neither just nor rational, even in the small matters referred to; and they seem to differ from 'constitutional relations' mainly in this, that the latter would have to be sufficiently just and sufficiently rational to bear the test of being publicly formulated."

I am delighted to observe that the *Times* has now thrown the vast weight of its just influence into the same scale. That powerful journal writes, July 2nd :—

"An important question has been raised in regard to the judicial relations between British India and the Feudatory States. The principality immediately concerned is Mysore. Before its rendition in 1881 the notifications of the British Chief Commissioner had the force of law. In 1878 it was thus ordained that all criminal processes issued by magistrates in British India should run throughout Mysore, and have the same force as processes issued by magistrates having jurisdiction in Mysore. This law was kept alive by the instrument of rendition in 1881, and the Maharaja was prohibited from detracting from it. A claim has now been made for a reciprocal authority being given in British territory to the processes of certain of the Mysore magistrates. The great influx of British capital for mining, coffee-planting, and other industrial enterprises in Mysore gives a special importance to this claim. British capitalists in Mysore complain that they find it almost impossible to obtain redress against defaulters or misappropriators of property who shelter themselves within the British frontier. Proceedings can be taken through the British Resident, but they are said to be of so roundabout and unsatisfactory a character that business men submit to serious losses rather than have recourse to them. The question is by no means a simple one. Even in a well-governed State like Mysore the British Government can have but imperfect security that the magistrates are, and always will be, worthy of our confidence. But Mysore does not stand alone, and, if judicial reciprocity were granted to her, it would be difficult to refuse a similar concession to other well-managed States. The grievance, however, is a real one, and it is to be hoped that some method more suitable to the new conditions of Mysore than the old process through the Resident will be devised to remedy it."

I have very little doubt that, after this exceedingly clear and impartial statement of the *Times*, the wit of man will be found capable of devising the remedy asked for. But there are many similar grievances—such, for instance, as the exclusion of criminal processes from running within the limits of the railway lines in the Native States—that are all due to the one cause, the lack of those "constitutional relations" of which Mr. Lee-Warner spoke, and for which I am this afternoon pleading.

The Germans, by their combination of the Federal with the Imperial system, which has been so well described for us by Colonel Malleson in his chapters on the history of 1871, may perhaps teach us what was probably the broad outline intended to be followed in India in the Imperial policy of 1877. It is true that, in Germany, the *Reichsland* was only the one comparatively small province of Alsace-Lorraine; whereas British India consists of ten vast Governments, far larger, wealthier, and more populous than all the rest of the Empire. But the principle, on which the Federal government of the *Reichsland* is put side by side, in the Imperial Constitution of Germany, with kingdoms like Bavaria and Saxony, and with the other Sovereign States of the Empire, shows how the Governorships of Bombay and Madras and the other administrations of British India, may be ranged side by side with the Native States in an Imperial Indian constitution.

The kingdom of Prussia frankly assumed to itself the hegemony in the German Empire, just as the British Power must, beyond all question, assume that position in India. But that has not been found incompatible, in practice, with the fullest recognition of the sovereign rights of the Bavarian, Saxon, and other dynasties in Germany. Similar recognition has, I am sure it will be admitted, been universally accorded to the sovereign rights of at least the Greater Indian Princes; but the vagueness and elasticity of the powers and responsibilities of British political officers, and of the Foreign Office behind, has tended to diminish the sense of security that would otherwise be produced by that recognition. Lord Dalhousie recognised the status of the Nawáb Vazir of Oudh, by causing him to be addressed as King of Oudh on all formal occasions. But that excellent precedent has not been followed, though the Nizam, the Gaekwar, the Maharajas of Mysore and Kashmir, and others, are sovereign rulers of States larger and more important than those of some German Kings.

The intellectual advancement and enlightenment of most of the Indian Chiefs, and of their Prime Ministers and nobles, is a most important element in this question. I am revealing no confidences, now that the late Mahárájá Bahádur of Travancore is no longer alive to adorn that model State, if I mention the remarkable fact that when I was the Editor of the *Calcutta Review*, I had the pleasure of publishing in it a most able and admirably-written *Memoir* of the career of the late Sir Madhava Rao from the pen of his pupil the Mahárájá, at that time First Prince of Travancore. The Maharaja of Mysore, whose recent loss we have been recently deploring, was not only a able prince, but he was also a cultured gentleman and an accomplished man of the world who would have distinguished himself in any society in the world. It would perhaps be invidious to mention by name any living Sovereigns or their Ministers; but many such as I have described in every part of India—in the Deccan, in Bengal, in Kathiawar, in Rajputana, in Central India, and in the Punjab—will occur to everyone here this afternoon who is acquainted with those parts of the Empire.

And on this point I should like to quote the words of an impartial observer from England, the Earl of Meath, who thus wrote in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*:—

"Some of these native princes are gentlemen of high culture and intellect, speaking English without the slightest accent, keenly alive to all that is passing in the world, and sincerely desirous of governing their territories both wisely and justly. Several of them have widened their minds by travel, have visited Great Britain, been presented to their Empress, and have made themselves acquainted with other portions of the vast Empire over which her rule extends. . . . Many of these men possess wealth and local influence, but owing to the system of Indian administration, are debarred from taking any part in public affairs outside their own dominions. What I have said of some independent Native rulers applies in a lesser degree to the Rajas, whose territories lie within those portions of India which are directly subject to the British Crown. Deprived of all opportunities of exercising their talents, their wealth, and their energies in the public service, is it wonderful that some of them should sink into listless sensualists or discontented idlers? The interests of the British Empire demand that no effort should be spared to tighten the bonds which unite Great Britain to her Eastern possessions. In a country like India, where birth, rank, and social position still retain their power over the minds of men, no means should be neglected of giving the princes and nobility some opening for their energies and ambition beyond the narrow confines of their own territories, of encouraging them to employ their great wealth and influence in the service of their country-people, and of utilising the conservative forces which they represent in the best interests of the Empire at large. I think most people will agree with me that, although India was conquered by the sword and probably for some time to come will have to be held by the sword, Britain would be wise to lose no opportunity of identifying, as far as practicable, the interests of the inhabitants of both portions of the Empire, and of showing the people of India that their union with Britain is conducive to their own political, social, and material welfare."

As to the allegation that is sometimes made that the Princes of India would themselves object to come into a well-organised scheme of Imperial Union, I discredit it altogether—provided always that it be made perfectly clear that their sovereign rights are to be respected, and, as I hope, increased when rendered more definite. The famous letter of the present Nizam on the occasion of the Panjdeh Russian scare, when he put not only his troops and the entire resources of his State, but also—a more significant and chivalrous offering—"his own sword," at the disposal of the Queen-Empress, is perhaps the most striking instance of princely loyalty on record. And only last week I read in the Calcutta *Englishman* the following report of a speech delivered at Srinagar by the Mahárájá of Kashmir at a State banquet given by His Highness in honour of the Queen-Empress's birthday:

"I am very much indebted to you for the most flattering terms in which you have alluded to my loyalty and devotion to the paramount Power, and to the gallant conduct of my troops in the affair at Chitrál. It is a pride and pleasure to me that a portion of the Imperial Service Troops have distinguished themselves by a marked display of gallantry and self-sacrifice in the combined cause of the British Government and the Kashmir State, and I should indeed feel grateful if you would convey to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Queen-Empress my hearty assurance of that loyalty and allegiance which have always characterised this Frontier State. Allow me to remark that the discipline and valour of my troops is due to the noble exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Raja Ram Singh, C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir State Forces, assisted by my esteemed friend, Colonel Neville Chamberlain."

Nothing could be more explicit or more cordial than these words. And it is, I believe, a matter of notoriety that those Chiefs who have equipped Imperial Service Corps have vied with each other in their desire that their troops should be sent to the frontier on active service—a remarkable fact that ought to be most gratifying to Lord Lansdowne, to whom we owe

the wise encouragement of this policy. And in this connexion, I would ask to be permitted to quote some remarks of mine that were published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, as they mark an endeavour to summarise some of the points of what I believe to have been the policy of Lord Lytton, and of the advantages that might be expected to flow from it :

"Let the great Princes of India become 'Councillors of the Empress' in reality and not merely in name. Let them become the hereditary constitutional rulers of their provinces under the Empire, with recognised sovereign rites, and with Imperial rank suited to their position as Princes of the Empire. . . . If their Prime Ministers were placed on the footing, and clothed with the rights, of British Lieutenant-Governors or Chief Commissioners a much-needed stability would be added to the constitutional government of these Native provinces, which would assimilate their condition and administration more and more to those of adjacent British provinces, and put an end to the intrigue of which we sometimes hear. With the establishment of Native Courts and Native Governments such as these, a vast field would at once be opened for the active employment and utilisation of Indian statesmanship, Indian administrative and judicial ability, and educated talent of every kind, which are now so grievously wasted, neglected, or misused, as Lord Meath has shrewdly observed. In spite of the discouraging events of the great Mutiny, and possibly because he rightly read the lessons of the general loyalty of the Princes and the uncertain disloyalty of their armies, Lord Canning cherished the armies of the Native States as a field for the exercise of the military aptitudes of an important section of the Indian populations. Under a properly constituted 'Constitutional Union,' the system known as that of the 'Imperial Service Troops' would, with the local Military Police, take the place of those armies, to the great increase both of the prestige of the Princes, and of the military strength and solidarity of the Empire. In education, in the construction of railways, in the encouragement of manufactures and mining and the arts, even in such things as famine-relief and sanitation and medical research, some Native States have given a good example to our British administrations. In all these directions, the immense fund of latent ability now lying dormant in Indian palaces and Indian colleges would find congenial occupation, that would surely increase the prosperity and the contentment of India by leaps and bounds. . . . With the development of constitutional government under the Protected Princes, each Native State would become at once a training ground and an arena for native politicians, and its 'Imperial Service Corps' a nursery for military officers of Indian birth."

In conclusion, I desire to congratulate this Association on the fact that our deliberations this afternoon are honoured by the presence of the English Statesman who, perhaps almost more than any other, speaks with the highest authority on questions of Indian policy. I am not unaware of the fact that Lord Cranbrook was, in the past, closely identified with—perhaps largely responsible for—that high-minded and generous policy towards the Native States, which I have ventured to connect with the name of Lord Lytton. But I hope it is perfectly clear that, in the interpretation I have this afternoon put upon that policy, and in the various extensions I have ventured to suggest, for purposes of discussion, I am putting forward what might perhaps be described as "an unauthorised programme." The Council of this Association has always been desirous that it should be understood, that when English statesmen of high rank are good enough to preside over our deliberations, they should not be held to be in any way committed to either side or to any view. It is for that reason, amongst others, that we have ceased, as a rule, our old practice of passing resolutions on the subject-matter of our papers. And it is for that reason that, in the historical portion of my remarks this afternoon, I have refrained, as

far as I possibly could, from referring specifically to the great, perhaps the leading, share taken by our noble chairman in directing the course of the events to which I have had to allude—though it has been impossible absolutely to exclude all such reference, in dealing with events in regard to which it must be said of Lord Cranbrook *quorum pars magna fuit.* Therefore, in respectfully commending to Lord Cranbrook's distinguished successor at the India Office, and to the Viceroy and Government of India, the views set forth in this paper, I do not wish it to be supposed for one moment that I am claiming for those views, or any of them, the distinguished authority of our Chairman. But I venture to say, that this Association are satisfied that the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy will bring to the consideration of this and similar subjects those lofty and generous sentiments that undoubtedly actuated their predecessors in 1877.

This Lecture was delivered before the East India Association, the Earl of Cranbrook being in the Chair, who took part in the discussion that followed, as did also Sir Lepel Griffin, Messrs. Bowring and Leitner (who have since also contributed separate papers on the subject to this Review), Sir Owen Tudor Burne, Dr. T. H. Thornton, Mr. M. Wood, Mr. P. Pillay and Kanwar Cheda Singh Varma. This discussion will be found in "The Proceedings of the East India Association" that are published elsewhere in this number. The Lecture was much noticed in the English Press when delivered, but is now published for the first time. It was, however, circulated by the Editor of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in advance proofs in England and India and has now already elicited the opinions of the two leading authors on the subject,—Messrs. C. L. Tupper and W. Lee-Warner—as also of other eminent men like Lord Hobhouse and the Maharajas Jotendro Mohun Tagore and Narendra Krishna and of distinguished civilians like Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. H. Baden-Powell and Mr. W. Irvine. These opinions now follow Sir R. Lethbridge's paper and will, no doubt, elicit the expression of the views of others who are interested in this important question to be published in future numbers of this Review.—Ed.

OPINIONS ON SIR R. LETHBRIDGE'S LECTURE.

A REPLY, BY C. L. TUPPER, B.C.S.,

Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government.

I ENTIRELY concur in the opinion of Sir Roper Lethbridge that the Government of India has been guided by the best possible motives in its relations with the Protected States. I also agree with him that the present situation is "complicated and transitional"; but it is complicated by reason of historical events which, in various parts of the country, have shifted the supreme or paramount power from the hands of the Delhi Emperors, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs to those of the British Government; and the transition that I perceive is, I fully believe, in the direction of progress.

As to lack of system in the management of political affairs in the internal protectorate, that is, in my opinion, far less than seems to be supposed. I do not remember having ever used the phrase "Imperial Constitution"; but I have pointed out* that the rules and principles which now govern the relations between the Paramount Power and the Protected States are a part of Indian Constitutional law; and I have stated reasons for giving to this body of rules and principles the name of Indian political law.

I admit that the word "law" is here used in a sense that requires explanation. Indian political law is not formally enacted law, except in so far as it is contained in the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act and in some other provisions of the Statute book, notably in certain sections of the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes. Such provisions apart, it consists of usage, and is the embodiment of the policy and practice of the Government of India, determined by the course of events and the sagacious labours of a succession of able men, who have taken part in the general reconstruction of the Indian administration (including the political administration) which has occurred since the Mutiny. What has here happened in India is something like what has happened in the development of English Criminal law. Men of great ability have habitually dealt with particular cases as they arose, in the light of the precedents left them by their predecessors. They have fully understood and scrupulously regarded certain fundamental principles; and fresh precedents, when made, have usually been either legitimate deductions from those principles, or at least been drawn from a full consideration of what has gone before. No one, I believe, will contend that the English Criminal law is a mere wilderness of single instances. The spontaneous and undesigned co-operation of many gifted minds has given it the coherence of a system. The same thing is true of the policy and practice of the Indian Government in its dealings with the Protected States. Successive Viceroys, Law Members of Council and Foreign Secretaries have felt the need both of a settled

* *Our Indian Protectorate*, pp. 6, 7, 340, 341.

basis of policy and of continuity of practice in the political affairs of a great Empire. And when we come to examine the result of their work, we find a clearness of design and a symmetrical inter-dependence of constituent parts, which would probably surprise not only those who have never made a special study of the system but even some of the authors of it themselves. Official generations come and go with great rapidity in India; but the growth that I see here, though rapid, is like that of some great edifice surely rising, in the reigns of successive kings, to the full proportions of its design.

I may say at once that I do not think that an Imperial Council or Diet is any part of any original design entertained by Lord Canning or others in the early sixties, or should form any part of any present development of British policy towards Indian States. I have heard nothing for years of the "Councillors of the Empress"; and the objections to any Indian Privy Council, with such functions as are described, seem to me overwhelming. To deal with cases of difficulty arising between the British Government and Ruling Chiefs or between one Ruling Chief and another or between a Ruling Chief and his subjects, is the business of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, of the Local Governments and Administrations, and of some 250 political officers scattered in and about some 630 States all over India. To take this duty away from those who now discharge it and transfer it to a Council connected with nothing whatever that already exists, would be to make the efficient performance of the duty absolutely impossible, to degrade the very authorities whom it is a matter of vital necessity to support thoroughly, and to substitute for friendly relations between the Paramount Power and the Protected State, the chronic opposition of litigants before a tribunal about as inconveniently constituted as any tribunal could well be. One of the first duties of Ruling Chiefs is to properly govern their own territories; another of their duties is to abstain from interference in the affairs of other States. The scheme suggested would take them away from their own territories and their proper work, in order that they might do work already provided for, and habitually violate one of their primary duties.

That there is at present an "absolute lack of provision" for emergencies or indeed a "default of any law or precedent" is, I submit, altogether a mistake. The political control over the States of India is exercised by the authorities I have named; nor is that control a matter of individual discretion. It is guided by rule and precedent and locally exercised under a supervision which is neither arbitrary nor ignorant. If the question of adequate control over Indian States in circumstances of emergency has "been allowed to slide," what is the use of the Foreign Department, the Governor General's Agents, the Residents at various States, the Political Officers all over the country? Not only has the question not been allowed to slide, but the practical exercise of political control, whether the time be one of emergency or not, has been, for seventy or more years, the chief or sole duty of a large and well-organized body of experienced and competent officers, some of them belonging to the Indian Political Department and others serving under the Local Governments and Administrations.

It is, moreover, a mistake to suppose that if the Prime Ministers of the great Princes of India were "placed on the footing and clothed with the rights of Lieutenant Governors or Chief Commissioners," the position of the great States would be in any way improved. No doubt many petty States have petty powers. But the powers of Heads of British Provinces are much more restricted than those of the great Chiefs. If reform is wanted here it is in the direction of enlarging the powers of Local Governments, not of restricting the powers of Native States. The end proposed is that we should assimilate the condition and administration of Native States more and more to those of adjacent British provinces. That is the very last thing to be desired. "It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm," wrote Lord Canning in a very famous despatch, "that if we made all India into *Zilas*," (*i.e.*, British districts) "it was not in the nature of things that our Empire should last fifty years; but that if we could keep up a number of Native States without political power, but as royal instruments, we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of that opinion I have no doubt, and recent events" (*i.e.*, the Mutiny) "have made it more deserving of our attention than ever."

I see that Sir Roper Lethbridge quotes, as I understand with approval, some remarks of Lord Meath. There are difficulties in giving the Rulers and officials of Native States openings for their energies and ambition beyond the confines of their own territories; which, I may remark, are by no means always "narrow," seeing that there are at least 15 States in India with an area of more than 6,000 square miles and at least 8 with a population of more than 2,500,000 Ruling Chiefs, as I have already said, have their own business to attend to. We have to find place and promotion for educated British subjects, and though there is no bar to the civil or military employment of subjects of Native States under the British Government, except that the Indian Civil Service is limited* to natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, the Native Indian subjects of Her Majesty have the first claim on us, and the subjects of Ruling Chiefs have the first claim on them. As to the Ruling Chiefs themselves, the Chiefs of Rajputana frequently served as Generals and Governors under the Delhi Emperors; one Rajput Chief, for instance, governed Kabul for Aurangzebe, and another commanded his army in the Deccan. Many Chiefs and many of the leading men in Native States now have opportunities of rendering military service to the Empire in consequence of the organization of the Imperial Service Corps. On many occasions Ruling Chiefs have been appointed Members of the Legislative Council of the Governor General. The Maharaja of Patiala was so appointed in 1862; the Nawab of Rampur in 1863 and 1866; the Maharaja of Jaipur in 1869, 1871 and 1873; the Raja of Nahan in 1877; and the Raja of Jhind in 1880. Here is a safe and expedient line of advance, provided always that adequate arrangements exist for carrying on the State Government during the absence of the Chief from his territories.

Though I do not concur in the proposal of Sir Roper Lethbridge for an Imperial Council or Diet, I agree with him that improvements require to

* 21 and 22 Vict. chap. 106, sec. 32.

be made. To me the whole system seems in so active a stage of growth that it is difficult to keep pace with its continual development. There is one defect which I should much like to see remedied. I refer to the defect of excessive and unnecessary secrecy. To take an illustration from the present argument, I do not suppose that if Sir Roper Lethbridge had read all that I have read in records secreted from the public eye, there would be any material difference between us on questions of principle. I believe that the development of the Indian political system is one of the greatest achievements of British rule in India since 1857; and that the justice, tolerance and sagacity of that system are things of which the British nation may well be proud. But the thing itself can at present be thoroughly known only to a small circle of experts. I hope the day will come, and come soon, when the Government of India will be bold and strong enough to rend aside the veil that now darkens counsel and let both the British public and the Protected States see, more clearly than is now possible, both what has been done, and how we stand. The truth is that the Indian political system excels exactly where British rule in British districts is most defective; it maintains Indian Governments in accordance with Indian ideas so far as they are not barbarous; and, subject to the prohibition of gross misrule, infuses Western ideas into the administration only so far as they are compatible with local assent.

Sir Roper Lethbridge may rejoin that he sees differences in principle between Mr. Lee-Warner and myself. As regards Chapters VIII. to XI. of Mr. Lee-Warner's book, in which he gives by far the best and fullest account of the obligations of Ruling Chiefs which has yet been published, I do not think there is any fundamental divergence of view. In another part of his book he objects to my contention that the tie between the Paramount Power and the Protected States is of a *quasi*-feudal character; but I think the objection arises because he and I differ not on the Indian question in its practical aspect but on a question of political philosophy. My studies have led me to the conclusion that feudalism, or some adjustment of political and proprietary rights and duties analogous thereto, is, if not universal in political history, at least as characteristic of a distinctly marked stage of political growth as is the village community of a distinctly marked stage of growth in the history of property; and one of my principal motives in writing *Our Indian Protectorate* was to indicate and illustrate this idea. It is clear that Mr. Lee-Warner does not accept it; but it does not at all follow that we should differ much on the important practical question, what are the respective rights and duties of the Paramount Power and the States of the Indian Protectorate. Mr. Lee-Warner has promised me that he will modify in his next edition a remark that he made (page 337) to the effect that I do not describe the nature of the political institutions of which, in India as in Europe, the land, or the right to a share of its produce, has been the basis. I do describe them at length in Chapters VII. to XI. inclusive of my Book.

Sir Roper Lethbridge might further refer to the observation he has quoted from Mr. Lee-Warner that if "the States are destined to be drawn into constitutional relations with British India, an entire reversal of past

policy will be necessary. Here the question turns upon the point, what do we mean by Constitutional relations? I should mean by the expression relations governed by Constitutional law, and, at page 334 of my book, I have explained what I mean in these Indian discussions by Constitutional law. The description I there gave was—"the rules and principles of law in the Austinian sense, and of usage, which determine what person or persons are to be supreme in any state or assemblage of States, in what manner the sovereignty is to be shared amongst those who exercise it, and with what restrictions the principal functions of sovereignty—legislative, judicial, fiscal, military and naval, political and diplomatic—are to be discharged." If we adhere to this use of terms, I think it will be admitted that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Protected States are already governed by a part of Indian Constitutional law, which, in its turn, is part of the Constitutional law of the British Empire. So far from any entire reversal of past policy being necessary, what we have to do is to go on by means of the existing organization improving towards completion the system which now obtains. To my mind that system seems already "sufficiently just and sufficiently rational" to bear the full light of day; and Mr. Lee-Warner has himself done a very great deal towards setting it in a clear light in his chapters on the Obligations of Indian States. What he means by "Constitutional relations" in the passage quoted, I am not sure that I thoroughly understand. But it is clear to me that he means something quite different from what I should mean by the same expression. Perhaps he means that "Constitutional relations" could exist if British laws extended of their own force to State territory, and if British Courts administered justice in Native States, otherwise than in portions of territory where jurisdiction has been acquired and otherwise than in the exercise of residuary jurisdiction. If so, I entirely agree with him. The distinction between State territory, to which British laws do not extend and in which British Courts have no jurisdiction, and British Indian territory, wholly under British Courts and laws, is a vital part of the whole policy.

If it be said that in the above remarks I overrate the degree of system which now exists and underrate the extent of the field still open to discretion, my reply is that it would be possible to show at length that certain important matters as between the Paramount Power and the Protected States have been clearly defined by agreement or usage, and that certain other important matters are either not defined at all or not clearly defined. But to do this a regular treatise would be necessary; and though there would be no harm in pointing out what matters have been clearly defined, it would not be either a wise or a useful thing to attempt any exhaustive enumeration of matters which are still indefinite. Much the same thing may be said of the position of Political Officers. I could cite numerous orders by which they are guided; and both the Darbars and Political Officers habitually appeal to precedents. But, in the diversity of political business which continually arises, there is much which has not, as yet, been brought under rule and to which no discoverable precedents exactly apply. Hence references are made to the Supreme Government, whose

orders passed from time to time build up the new rules and precedents which are necessary. To force this growth by travelling beyond necessities as shown by concrete cases would be, in my humble judgment, a very imprudent course.

I have to thank Sir Roper Lethbridge very much for his kind and courteous references to my book; and I hope he will pardon me if I set right a very small error on a point of no general interest. I cannot claim the honour of belonging to the Indian Political Department. I have, indeed, till lately been employed for nearly two years on special duty in the Foreign Department; but I actually hold an appointment in the Punjab Commission.

C. L. TUPPER.

SIMLA, August 15, 1895.

A LETTER BY W. LEE-WARNER, C.S.I.

I have to thank you for your note of July 25, sending me a copy of Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper. With his aims, the contentment and advancement of the Protected princes of India, I am in entire accord; and no one recognises more humbly than myself the great difficulty of deciding some of the complicated questions that arise in the conduct of British relations with them. But I still think that their position is not a constitutional one, and that the dim outline of combination of the federal with the Imperial system sketched by Sir Roper cannot be brought into practice and reality without the sacrifice of all those parts of sovereignty left to the States which their sovereigns most value. The writer who has written most in favour of the constitutional *modus vivendi* is Professor Westlake, in his International Law; and he finds in precedent and constitutional tact, (words which, I confess, seem to me rather misty), a safer guarantee against encroachment than in treaty or the loose robes of applied International principles. I have often asked intelligent princes and still more intelligent Dewans, whether they would like to see a Supreme Federal Court for the decision of the Judicial cases which now come up on appeal to the British Government, or a Committee of Counsellors of the Empire, chosen from the sovereign princes, to act as a Jury or Assessors to the Government of India in some of the political or administrative differences which occasionally arise. To the action of a Court of Law, however nigh, I have found all opposed, as the thin end of the wedge of judicial interference and as sacrificing the free play of judgment which the present system of appeal to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State allows. I have found them equally opposed to the reference of political issues vitally affecting them to a Committee of Sovereigns who might be divided from them by caste, religion, historical antecedents, or interests. I do not think that the present system can be described with accuracy as "chaos." You know better than I do how numerous are the States, how very different their administrations are in integrity and quality, and yet how conservative each one is of its own methods and traditions. The so-called chaos is due to the existence of ever varying factors in each

issue. The Government of British India taxes all our resources without multiplying the questions that arise in the Native States or increasing interference in their affairs. Analyze the questions that must be settled, and I think Sir Roper will admit that a large proportion of them must depend upon opportunity and the unfettered decision of the British Government, checked by public opinion and the varying rights of each state. A close constitutional union would introduce more uniformity; but have we yet reached such a condition of similarity in the conditions of the hundreds of States as would enable us to draw up a procedure code? I venture to doubt it. Again I thank you for sending me the paper which is full of interest.

W. LEE-WARNER,

Bangalore, 25/8/95.

NATIVE RULE AND BRITISH EMPIRE, BY J. D. REES, C.I.E.

Sir Roper Lethbridge takes as his text in his article on "the Sovereign princes of India and their relation to the Empire" an extract from a speech made by Lord Salisbury in 1866.

The late viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, before leaving India expressed himself in equally clear terms in favour of the policy of avoiding all unnecessary intervention in the internal affairs of Native States, a policy, the adoption of which is only affirmed by the exception, which has recently been made in regard to Bhurtpore. The case of Manipur to which Sir Roper Lethbridge refers was altogether exceptional, and all schools must combine in considering intervention necessary on such an occasion.

Not only does the principle, which Lord Salisbury laid down, and Lord Lansdowne affirmed, commend itself by its abstract justice and expediency, but to an administrator in British India a study of the administration of Native States, when only watched and guided and not directed by British presidents, affords a most useful subject of comparison by which he can not only measure the condition of adjacent British Districts but by the example of which he can perhaps sometimes temper the uniformity of British Rule, and introduce such variations in matter and manner, as may make measures not perhaps suggested by the wants of any particular locality, more exactly suited to its own accidental or ephemeral requirements. The late Sir T. Madhava Rao, successively minister of Travancore, Indore, and Baroda, had quite exceptional opportunities of judging the merits of Native Rule, and its relation to that of British India. Sir Madhava himself was by no means a Congress man and represented one of the most Conservative classes of the inhabitants of India. He was very conscious of the greater attention which is paid by the British Government to the development of the material resources of its districts, to the construction of roads and railways, and to the extension of irrigation works; and of course he was aware, as any student of the science of government must be, that given peace and the absence of actual misgovernment, the physical conditions of a country chiefly determine the degree of prosperity enjoyed by its inhabitants. Yet he drew up the following brief memo-

randum, illustrating those respects, in which he considered Native, compared favourably with British, rule.

"The revenues are chiefly spent in the country itself.

Salaries are less liable to reduction, and in the case of higher officials are more liberal.

Taxes are levied with less rigorous exactitude, and remissions granted with more freedom.

Speaking generally, there is more elasticity and less cast-iron adherence to rule.

There is less litigation, and personal representation to the authorities is more easy.

The worry of the department is less acute owing to greater centralization, while subjects of Native States are exempt from the detested Income Tax.

Differences of rank and position among the Natives are better understood and more carefully observed.

The reign of law is less accentuated.

Education is more native in character, and the temples of the gods are managed more to the satisfaction of the people. In fact, the Government, though less scientific, is capable of producing more of that repose and quiet content so congenial to the native mind."

This is not the occasion for criticizing these views. It may be observed, however, that there is some doubt whether the salaries of higher officials are more liberal in Native States. It might be urged that the reverse is the case, and that in some States where European agency is employed, such agency is remunerated on a scale which causes no little heart-burning on the part of natives of the State, who obtain less pay for equally onerous duties. On the other hand, it must be allowed that where a Native State employs a European agent, it does so in the firm belief that under the particular circumstances of the case he is likely to prove the better servant. It is also open to doubt whether there is less litigation in Native States. When they are rich and prosperous, resort to the Law Courts is quite as common as in British India. It is, no doubt, true that the differences of rank and position among the natives are better understood and more carefully observed, and it is probably also true that very large numbers of well-meaning and excellent officials in British India unconsciously offend by ignoring these distinctions.

After summing up his opinions as given above, Sir T. Madhava Rao, very much in the spirit which animated Lord Lansdowne's remarks, concluded by saying "that it would be a sad day for India when Native States disappear and when the whole country is levelled under the British Rule." One of our greatest historians has deplored in regard to the Roman Empire, such a result as Sir Madhava deprecated for British India.

It may be, and no doubt is, true that no one can exactly say what are the limits of the responsibility of the authority of Residents; and it would be hard to say how it happens that sentences of death, for instance, have practically to be confirmed by the Resident in some of the larger states in Southern India, while no such confirmation is believed to be necessary in some of the smallest states in Upper India.

But to come to the point discussed in Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper, I would agree with Mr. Lee-Warner in thinking that the paramount power of the British Crown is wisely left undefined, and that the subordination of Native States is better understood than explained. No doubt this state of affairs leaves greater play for the personal equation; but is not the

weight of opinion in favour of allowing the heads of administrations to select the best officers available, and of giving them as free a hand as possible?

Imperial Constitutions have not proved very easy to create, or very simple to work. In the case of Finland, a government independent in its internal affairs but subordinate to Russia nothing could be more satisfactory than the constitution on paper, but in practice it does not give satisfaction to Russians or to Fins. Sir Roper Lethbridge says that it was commonly expected that an Imperial Council would be formed, which would grow into an Indian analogue of our English Privy Council. This must remain matter of speculation, and the conclusion seems somewhat too comprehensive to draw from the fact that certain Indian princes were in 1877 granted the title of "Councillor of the Empress." It may be remarked, in passing, that the argument drawn from the reciprocal judicial relations between Mysore and British India, may be overstrained. Without making any invidious claim for Mysore, that it is better administered than other Native States, it may, without fear of contradiction, be put down as the most British of Native States, the administration having retained the British character, impressed upon it during the long tenure of office by British Chief Commissioners, whose method and manner of government, were carried on by the late Maharaja. The accession of this admirable Prince made little difference in the character of the administration, except in regard to the substitution, to some extent, of Native for European agency. It is difficult to say what difference in the Status of native princes would be effected by according to them the foreign style of "King" instead of the native styles of Nizam, Gaekwar, Rana, Raja and Maharaja, and many and large holes could be picked in the comparison suggested between the German and the Indian Empires, and the relative position to the paramount power of the minor States in either Empire. Sir Roper Lethbridge refers to the two Maharajas of Travancore and Mysore as exceptionally accomplished Princes. No doubt they were, but men of exceptional talents and accomplishments are by no means rare among this remarkable body of men. Yet I very much doubt, if any of them would approve of the Imperial Constitution, rough outlines of which are given by Sir Roper; and probably there would be only one or two,—and these not the most acceptable to their own people or the most suited for their high positions,—would be likely to entertain for one moment Lord Meath's fantastic idea of representation in Parliament. I have endeavoured to comply with your request to answer in time for your October number, and this must be my excuse for the fragmentary character of these remarks.

J. D. Rees.

Ootacamund, 20th August, 1895.

LETTER BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HOBHOUSE.

I have perused with much interest Sir Roper Lethbridge's lecture on the Native Princes of India, and thank you for sending it.

Twenty years ago, I was familiar with the practical working of the relations between the Paramount Power and the Native States in India, as I

had frequently to advise the Government in such matters. Certainly it was then true that "no such thing as an Imperial Constitution can be described as known. No approximation to a system can be obtained, *etc.*"

The plain fact is that our position as Paramount Power was gained by superior force, *i.e.* by wars—wars waged through many years and with great variety of circumstances. The independence of Native States varies from almost complete sovereignty in internal affairs (all are debarred from foreign relations) down to jurisdictions of a very petty kind. Some of their powers were secured by formal treaty, and some rested on usage; while sometimes, of course, questions arose which were not covered by either treaty or usage. But lying at the bottom of all things was their origin—*viz.*, conquest; and the sanction and limitation of all was military force—very rarely coming to actual blows, but taking the political shape of "Acts of State." In fact, it was very seldom that anything was needed but steady and quiet pressure on the Indian Ruler by the Resident Agent.

I believe that, ever since Lord Dalhousie's time, not only have treaties been respected, but the discretion conferred by irresistible strength has been exercised both conscientiously and with a strong sense of the political value of the Native States, as opposed to Lord Dalhousie's tendency to absorb them. But as to system or constitution, there was none; nor, as I believe, did circumstances in my time admit of any. When I went to India, my relative Sir Stafford Northcote directed my attention specially to the question whether some better rule than the rule of thumb could not be found for the Native States. In the Baroda case—a very peculiar and novel one,—we did use a new process; but we did not hit on anything like a rule. We went on dealing with each case on its own circumstances and according to the best judgment that could be formed.

Whether changes of circumstances have now made that possible which 20 years ago was impossible, I cannot judge, from want of steady attention to the subject in this interval. Sir Roper thinks that Lord Lytton had some plan in his head. Lord Lytton possessed a bright imagination and he had generous sentiments on the position of Native Indians; but as regards British India, he lacked the detailed knowledge, and possibly the trained official aptitude, which qualify a man for framing practical plans for intricate affairs. If he did contemplate those things which Sir R. Lethbridge suggests, I should say that in his time the component elements of India were too disjointed to admit of any such combinations. No doubt great changes have taken place and are now proceeding at an accelerated pace. The long peace, the spread of the English language, European travel, the fundamental idea of English law (*i.e.*, an impersonal law as contrasted with the will of the Ruler), the stimulus given to Indian minds by the introduction of Western thought, and, perhaps more than all these, the habit of locomotion and increased personal inter-communication with its inevitable accompaniment of wider views and greater mental activity—these things must have produced, may have visibly produced, great effects. The last thing I saw of the hereditary foes, Sindhia and Holkar, was in Calcutta, where the rival Mahratta chiefs were sitting side by side on a sofa, conversing in English. And I wondered what Lord

Wellesley would have thought of such a thing; and I thought within myself that I was probably witnessing a very early symptom of a great revolution.

All these influences seem to me to make for consolidation of Indian thought and policy, and to render possible the growth of that which never yet has existed, *viz.*, an Indian nationality able to stand by the strength of Indian statesmanship. If British rulers can do anything to forward and guide such a consummation, it will be the noblest work that conquerors ever performed. But unless change has gone much further than I know of, such a goal is still very far off,—too far for a statesman to deal with; and every overt step towards it must be one of difficulty, delicacy and danger. It is good that the idea of combination should be before the eyes; it is good that the policy of treating Native States as valuable political elements should have superseded the policy of absorption. But I fancy that the Rulers of India must yet wait a long time and watch further developments, not endeavouring to force new institutions upon unprepared minds, but dealing, in a spirit of wise generosity, with each emergency as it arises. My political creed has always been that healthy growth must come from the inside, and that outside reforms, though absolutely essential when the growth has taken place,—(as in Western Europe, notably in the 16th and 19th centuries)--cannot usefully do more than fit the frame-work to the life within.

I have sent these superficial and hasty remarks merely from memory of my old currents of thought and in the absence of all papers except that of Sir Roper Lethbridge which you sent me, and on which you invite comments. There is no value in them for anybody except myself; but if you think otherwise, you may use them as you please.

HOBHOUSE.

LETTER FROM MAHARAJA SIR JOTENDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.S.I.

I have received the advance proof of the paper on the Sovereign Princes of India and their relation to the Empire, by Sir Roper Lethbridge. I thank you much for affording me an early opportunity of its perusal, and I have considered the subject matter of the paper with great interest and attention. I think it most desirable that the Native States should be drawn into constitutional relations with British India and the scheme as outlined by Sir Roper Lethbridge seems to me one from which much good may be expected. The Native Princes of India, would I am sure, loyally co-operate in making any workable scheme a success.

JOTENDRO MOHUN TAGORE.

The Prásád, Calcutta, August 27, 1895.

REFLECTIONS BY MAHARÁJÁ SIR NARENDRA KRISHNA, K.C.I.E.

Sir Roper Lethbridge, formerly of the Bengal Educational Department, has an intimate acquaintance with the actual change in the condition of India, as contrasted with that under different *régimes*, dating back to the

time of the *Moslem* rule. It is indeed useful and instructive reading to the student of Indian History, for it shows that from the stable establishment of the British sovereignty, properly so called—(as we need not deal with the East India Company's control of Indian affairs, which was on a limited scale)—down to the present day, there has hardly been a single Governor-General or a Viceroy of the Queen-Empress of India, but has left behind him some substantial and enduring monument of the beneficence of his arduous, and withal responsible, stewardship. A few instances of such beneficent administrative acts, by way of illustration, will doubtless explain clearly my meaning in this connexion, and I shall cite only such as cannot be questioned by the most captious of critics. I avoid any that might rekindle the flames of controversy, and I give, in bare outline, only such acts as show that there is abundant cause for thankfulness to the British rule in India for the manifold blessing and many precious boons it has already conferred, despite cases of individual failures here and there that must needs continue yet to occur, in an alien form of government. Suffice it to state here, once for all, that among other things of importance, the establishment and consolidation of cordial relations between the British Indian Government and its powerful feudatories, have been the chief care of every Governor-General from the Marquis of Hastings to Lord Elgin. I shall cite a few of their most notable acts, though the compass of a Review will not admit the narration, in detail, of all; yet the selection of a few will sufficiently answer the purpose. Take first Lord William Bentinck. *Sutti* and infanticide that held iron sway over the people from time immemorial, were abolished by one legislative enactment, by that statesman to whose sagacity the people still owe a debt of endless gratitude; for, in fact, the abolition of these two inhuman practices gave a sense of relief to the sensible portion of the Indian community—as freeing them from slow, voluntary, tortuous processes to reach Paradise in pursuance of the existence of a silly notion. Other measures of this period need not be touched upon, for obvious reasons. I come down to later times.

Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty was so successful as to call forth no hostile criticisms from the Indian press generally, except the policy adopted by him regarding Baroda, which was bitterly attacked, though somewhat unreasonably, in the columns of a Bengali Magazine, now defunct. When he resigned, he left behind him a legacy of peace, order and prosperity. Though not very frequently before the public of Britain, he must, judging from his active habits, continue to take a lively interest in Indian affairs.

Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, supposed to be most unpopular with a certain class of the Indian people, also presents remarkable features for favourable comment. His adroit execution of the noble conception of the *Imperial Assemblage* at Delhi, does credit to the nation that could produce such a genius as him; for it has helped, in no small measure, to place the relations between the British Government and its powerful allies on a sound footing. Lord Dufferin's and Lord Landsdowne's viceroyalties are also noted for achievements of no mean order. It will not be out of place to state that Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace's vast and varied experience in the matter of Russian diplomacy must have been of great help to his chief in determining the nature and extent of his Afghan policy.

As the chief aim of this brief article is to indicate some salient features of the rule of some of the British Viceroys while studiously avoiding as far as practicable the province of adverse criticism, no exhaustive enumeration of their numberless enactments, all designed in the interest of the people, is attempted. But of one thing all are sure, and there is no gainsaying the fact, that all the Viceroys and their lieutenants have been, without exception, actuated by a desire to do their best, though many may have failed to do even-handed justice to a multiplicity of conflicting interests, that are found to exist in this vast Peninsula. It is also established beyond the shadow of a doubt, that whatever defects the British domination may exhibit to its disadvantage, there is a firm conviction, deep-seated in the minds of its subject-peoples, whose loyalty is as steadfast and solid as a rock, that no reasonable remonstrance for relief or redress addressed to the Empress's representative is likely to go unheeded; and hence *Nil desperandum* is the motto of India's patient, peace-loving, law-abiding subject-races, specially of the *Hindus*. Great credit and our hearty thanks are due to Sir Roper Lethbridge for this masterly and sympathetic paper, wherein he has attempted to bring out this point very forcibly.

NARENDRA KRISHNA.

Calcutta, Sobhabazar-Rajbari, September, 1895.

NATIVE PRINCES, BY L. B. BOWRING, C.S.I.

Any practical proposals tending to strengthen the attachment and loyalty of the great Chiefs of India to the British Crown are entitled to the utmost sympathy and the fullest consideration. In the lecture which Sir Roper Lethbridge, who may be styled the "Burke" or "Debrett" of British India, read recently at a meeting of the East India Association, he, with considerable ability, made certain suggestions which, in his opinion, would conduce to bind more firmly the tie now connecting the chiefs with the paramount power. The main point which he insisted on was that they should be associated with the higher English functionaries in an Imperial Council, which would discuss and regulate matters of Imperial policy, somewhat on the principle of the German Reichsrath.

It may be worth while to consider what are the actual relations of Native States towards the British Government. When the English in India were a nascent struggling power, thinking only of securing commercial privileges for themselves and keeping other European nations out of the field, the treaties which they made with native potentates had no higher aim than to foster their own trade. When, however, the long rivalry with the French ended in the defeat of their hereditary foes, the English began to assume a different attitude towards native States, and in the policy that was inaugurated and successfully carried out by Lord Mornington, they began to assert their position as the dominant power. It is true that then, and for some time afterwards, the more important States were treated with on equal terms for offensive and defensive purposes; but when the strength of the great Mahratta chiefs was broken, and little fear remained of hostile combination, the British government were really able to dictate their own terms to the native rulers. The annexation of the Panjāb removed all

apprehension of organized opposition on the part of the Sikhs, the only formidable fighting race still left, while the suppression, later on, of the great mutiny of 1857, placed the English in the unchallenged position of being the sovereign rulers of India.

It may be said that, with rare exceptions (notably, that of a treaty made with Haidar Ali), the British government faithfully kept to their engagements with native States; but the annexation of Satārā, Jhānsi, Nāgpur, and Oudh, instilled in the minds of the great chiefs a deep distrust of our designs. Without entering into the question of the righteousness of some of these appropriations, it must be admitted that their apprehensions were not groundless. Their fears were, however, allayed by the guarantees given by Lord Canning that the right of adoption, on failure of direct heirs, would be sacredly observed. I am not aware that this action of the Governor General was ever impugned by the princes of India, or that his right to issue such patents was contested, but it is clear that from this time forward the chiefs were, *ipso facto*, placed in a subordinate position, whether they be called feudatories or not. It may briefly be said that the permanence of their dynasties has been solemnly promised by the paramount power, and that to that power they are now bound to pay allegiance by every motive alike of gratitude and self-interest.

I come now to the question propounded by Sir Roper Lethbridge, that is, in what way these chiefs, some of whom are of ancient descent, and many holding vast possessions, can best be associated with the governing race, so as to give them an interest in the internal policy which guides the affairs of India. It must be remembered that India is an immense country, comprising many nationalities, widely divergent from one another, not only in origin, but in social and religious customs. Afghāns, Sikhs, Rājpūts, Mahrāthas, Bengalees, the races of Southern India, and numerous small tribes constitute a huge community, living outwardly at peace under British rule, but profoundly different in national sentiments and aspirations: to draw an analogy between them and the German Reichsrath would be an entirely erroneous premiss.

Let us suppose, however, that the Viceroy desires to rally round him the leading chiefs to assist him in his deliberations. On what principle is the selection to be made? No less than 100 chiefs receive honorary salutes from our government, and are supposed to rule their own territories, but there are multitudes of others of hereditary influence and holding extensive possessions, many of whom are far bette qualified to act as Councillors than the smaller princes of the former class. Both in Rājpūtāna and Central India there are petty Rajas who receive salutes, but their incomes are restricted, and their present culture *nil*. Still, some of them are of the "sangre azul" of famous houses of which they are offshoots, and they are as proud as the highest in the land. On the other hand, many of the Bengal Rajas are of equally ancient descent and have large revenues, but are now classed as simple landowners, with perhaps a seat in the Lieutenant Governor's Council.

Then comes the ticklish question of precedence. Supposing (which I believe to be wholly impossible) that any place in India could be selected

which would be fairly convenient to the majority of the princes summoned to the Council, I fear it would be extremely difficult to adjust the rivalry and jealousy which would spring up between them. When Lord Canning invited the Maharaja of Patiālā to take a seat in the Legislative Council, the proud Sikh chief, on his arrival in Calcutta, positively refused at first to associate on equal terms with his native colleagues, and it was not till the Governor General informed him that, if he declined to meet in Council men whom Lord Canning had deemed worthy of such high office, he might return to his territory, that he deigned to give in. No one who has not had some experience of the extraordinary and fastidious attention paid by Indian chiefs to ceremonial, can conceive to what length some of them push their pretensions. To meet together and on equal terms those whom they consider their inferior, or with whom there has been a long-standing quarrel, is not the wont of these nobles. If it be alleged that rivals meet together in the Viceroy's Darbārs, the answer is that in this case one chief is entirely independent of another, and perhaps not a word passes between them, whereas at a Council meeting there must needs be discussion, and I should apprehend sometimes angry retort and recrimination. Then arises the question of the enormous outlay which would be incurred by attendance at the Council, which would probably sit for at least one month. The greater chiefs vie with one another in the splendour of their retinues, and would deem it beneath their dignity to appear at State functions without a large attendance of followers. The introduction nearly everywhere of railways has of course enabled them to visit famous shrines, and to see much of their own country without the necessity of much ostentation, or incurring heavy expenditure; but such would not be the case when a large number of princes were assembled together in camp in the outskirts of the place of meeting. Even on sanitary grounds objections might be raised to the presence, for a month, of a heterogeneous host, while many of the chiefs might demur to exposing themselves to unfamiliar climatic conditions and an insufficient or unhealthy water-supply.

Having studied for many years the condition of the native States of India, I feel bound to attest the wonderful progress made by some of them since the great convulsion of 1857-58. Mysore and Travancore may be called model administrations, while the Nizām, the Gāyakwār, Sindhia, and other potentates have evinced a sincere desire so to govern their territories as to ensure the welfare of their subjects, and elicit the commendation of the Supreme Government. This process is still going on, and the spread of civilization, the extended knowledge of English, and above all the sense of security as to the perpetuity of their rule, have enlarged the sympathies of the Chiefs both towards their own people and the British Crown. If they govern wisely and well, they are assured of support from the Viceroy and his local representatives; and it is only the *rois-fainéants*, the slothful and sensual among them, who have anything to fear from the action of the Government of India. A generation or two ago, some of the chiefs could barely sign their names, while others only attached a symbol as their attestation to a document; whereas now eudcation is spreading so rapidly that in a few decades there will probably not be one of them who will not

be able to correspond in English. I regard this as the greatest factor in the future prosperity of the native administrations, and as the bond which will most closely unite them to British rule. For the present, I think it would be premature and unwise to relax in any way the general control now exercised by the English Residents and Political Agents over native States; but the time will probably come when these officials will either not be required, or will be merely representatives of our government at the courts to which they are attached. Many a chief now chafes at the interference of the "Politicals" who will not allow him to carry matters with a high hand and wreck the welfare of his State; but I believe that such intervention is much less needed now than heretofore, and that the spectacle of neighbouring chiefs ruling to the benefit of their people must act as a stimulus to the careless and indifferent.

In former days, in our dealings with the chiefs, distrust was the real guiding motive of our policy, and our treaties with them were obviously intended to fetter their independence and bind them down to fidelity by fear of the consequences of hostility towards us. Such distrust has now given way to mutual confidence, and those who were concealed foes are now trusty friends. This is a great achievement, demonstrating both that our government are always ready to support and encourage those who rule wisely, and that they on their part, inspired by this confidence, have become genuine and not forced allies. As years roll on, there can be little doubt that this attachment will increase, and not diminish; for it is in the nature of man to repay trust with trust, and those who have had important dealings with Orientals know that they are not insensible to the value of gratitude.

The title "Imperial Councillor" has a ring in it, which was intended, and rightly so, to enhance the dignity of the Chiefs on whom it was conferred, and great credit is undoubtedly due to Lord Lytton for having endeavoured to raise those so honoured in the estimation of their fellow-princes; but I think it would have been wiser first to determine what were the exact privileges and duties attached to the designation. At present it seems to be a mere "*nominis umbra*"; but Sir Roper Lethbridge is of opinion that the policy should be carried out to "its legitimate conclusion," that is, I presume, that the Viceroy should set to work to form a real Imperial Council of the foremost chiefs and the most notable men in India.

I have mentioned above some of the practical difficulties which occur to me in adopting such a course, and I do not think I have exaggerated them — indeed, at the meeting to which I have referred, Sir Lepel Griffin, whose experience of native Chiefs is probably unrivalled, expressed sentiments to much the same effect. What the feelings of the more highly-cultured Princes may be on the subject one does not know, for the question has probably never been considered by them, but my impression is that in their minds the status and dignity of an Imperial Councillor would be heavily outweighted by the responsibilities and duties of the post, superadded to those obstacles to which I have drawn attention.

It is obvious that such Councillors would not be permitted to express an

opinion on the external policy of the Government, nor do I think that one Chief would tolerate another dictating to him how he should administer his territory; so that in point of fact the Councillors' duties would be limited to assisting the Viceroy in the government of British India, the utility of which appears to me somewhat doubtful, for it must be noted that it is not in a Legislative capacity merely, but in an Administrative capacity that it is proposed to seek their advice and co-operation.

We must frankly admit the difficulty which arises in the execution in British territory of judicial processes emanating from Native States. No doubt great delay sometimes takes places; but while in many instances the judicial tribunals in native territory are unworthy of confidence, it would perhaps be invidious to draw a distinction between the good and the bad, and grant a privilege to one which is denied to another. This is, however, a subsidiary matter, having no bearing on the question of constituting an Imperial Council.

I am personally acquainted with but few of the greater ruling chiefs of the day, but circumstances brought me into more or less close communication with the majority of their predecessors; and I feel satisfied that the just and generous policy of our Government during the last three decades has increased immensely the attachment of our native allies. The spontaneous offers of the Nizām, Sindhia, the Mysore Maharaja and others to place their military resources at our disposal in time of need, afford ample proof of this, while, if we go back to the period of the great Mutiny, the active aid of Patiālā, Jhīnd, Kapūrthala, Bhopal, and other Chiefs showed their conspicuous loyalty. It is, therefore, in every way desirable that we, on our part, should requite these feelings of regard, originating possibly in a conviction of our strength, but gradually merging into a sincere devotion to British rule. In my opinion the Chiefs of India will be quite content if we allow them to govern their own territories, with the smallest amount of interference on our part; and although they are not indifferent to the bestowal of well-merited honours, I question whether they would care to participate in the labours of governing any but their own possessions.

L. B. Bowring, C.S.I.

NATIVE CHIEFS, BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL.

Oxford, August 18, 1895.

I have read with much interest Sir R. Lethbridge's paper on our relations with Native States in India. The subject is one of vital importance, and must receive sympathetic attention from all who have the welfare of India at heart. The paper deals solely with the general aspect of the matter, and enlarges on the principle that all the superior States should not only be honorably treated, but that the Rulers should find their wishes consulted and their dignity maintained. All will agree, also, that no legal difficulties should be allowed to prevent the due administration of justice, or hinder the successful development of trade and enterprise. The difficulty, however, begins when we try to advance to details and to devise practical suggestions as to how the desired end may be attained. Doubtless the idea of an Imperial Council is a good one, and one that I believe

is quite alive and in the minds of the authorities; but such a Council could hardly be made much use of except on great occasions of questions concerning the whole Empire in the East, and those do not arise every day. If so great a Council were to be assembled to judge (e.g.) of the misdeeds of the less advanced States, I doubt whether the function would be at all palatable to the greater Chiefs; and the plan of making a local Court of final Appeal (with the aid of the Chief Justices of the Provincial High and Chief Courts) would not, I think, be possible, nor if possible would it be much an advance on the present system of final appeal to the Queen in Council.

As to the suggestion that subjects of native States should be treated in all respects as British subjects without special formalities of naturalization, there is much to be said in favour of it; but there would also be corresponding difficulties; for, as a necessary corollary, all British subjects in native States (not merely in special cases like those arising in the Manipur outbreak) would have to possess the same rights as they would have in British territory.

The questions of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, the extradition of criminals, and the execution of Civil Court decrees, can only gradually be worked out. As a matter of fact, as regards the few large and really well-managed States, the ground work of a substantial reciprocity already exists: it requires only to be perfected. The difficulties spoken of in Mysore could (and probably will) be met, by amending the Extradition Act of 1879. As to Civil decrees, the Procedure Code already allows a general order to be made by the Government, so that the execution of the decrees of the States can be had in British district courts very much in the same way in which our Civil Courts in British India execute the decrees of one another. But it is impossible to lose sight of two very important matters. Throughout the British provinces the law is the same, and the magistrates are appointed in the same way, on the same general basis of qualification, and subject to the same unfailing and exact control. The Native States are not by any means uniform in these matters. There are also a great many varieties of rank among the States, and many corresponding degrees of efficiency. In some it cannot be said that any defined rule of law exists at all; in others the practical administration of justice is still extremely deficient. The day is still far off when it would be possible to say, 'All magistrates are practically on the same footing throughout the Empire, both in that part of it that is directly administered, and in the Confederated States.' On the other hand, some steps might be taken to establish a simple Criminal (Substantive Law and Procedure) Code for such of the (smaller) States as did not see their way to adopt the existing Codes of British India.

Possibly, also, some efforts might be made to unify at least the broader features of the Civil law and procedure, as a first step. It is not necessary that all provisions should be uniform, but they must be on a common basis of principle. The German States have laws which differ in detail, but in principle they are all referable to the same juristical foundation, so that as far as reciprocal recognition is concerned, it may fairly be said that the law both Civil and Criminal is very much the same, and its administration

equally good. This is very far indeed from being the case with the Native States (as a whole) of India. It seems possible only to advance gradually and slowly in this matter, as State after State emulates the virtues of the greater ones, which alone seem to have been in the contemplation of Sir R. Lethbridge.

B. H. BADEN-POWELL.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED IMPERIAL COUNCIL, BY W. IRVINE, B.C.S.

With Lord Salisbury, as quoted in Sir R. Lethbridge's exordium, we can all agree. For thirty-five years or more, no one in India or out of it has wished to extend our borders at the expense of the Native States. Nor do many of us see much to object to in the retrocession of part of the Berars, or the revival as a Native State of the Mysore principality; nay more, we are pleased to see that the subordinate States, benefiting so much by our protection, are at last contributing something, in the shape of trained troops, towards the general defence of the Empire. But Sir R. Lethbridge wants more. He holds that the existing system (that is, I assume, the relations between the Suzerain and the Feudatory powers and the mode of conducting affairs between them) is not "entirely satisfactory." Few things in this imperfect world of ours are "entirely satisfactory": and a reformer might well be held to have answered his own case who admits, as does Sir Roper, that "the happiness and prosperity of the people of the Protected States as well as the dignity and the security of the Chiefs, have been on the whole well cared for." If this be the result of existing methods, we may well ask, in Lord Melbourne's phrase, "Can't you leave it alone?"

Nevertheless, let us inquire what is considered to be at present defective, —"the something rotten," in this Department of the State. Sound diagnosis forms a condition precedent in all effectual treatment. But I find it somewhat difficult to draw up a clear and definite enunciation of the supposed ailments awaiting remedy. Sir Roper makes no formal statement of them and, after travelling over a good deal of ground, leaves the subject extremely vague, perhaps on purpose. The assumed defects then, so far as can be gleaned from the paper, seem to be (1) Want of publicity as to the reasons for deposing a ruler—(Bhartpur); (2) Neglect to redress the grievances of a dissatisfied people—(Kashmīr); (3) Refusal to return the Berars at the demand of the Nizām—(Hyderabad); (4) Dislike of the princes to the presence of an irresistible power; (5) Objection to the indefinite power of Residents at native Courts; (6) that the treaties, engagements, and *sanads* by which the Native Powers are bound are a "chaotic mass without approximation to system." This bare re-capitulation is sufficient to demonstrate how heterogeneous are the questions which Sir R. Lethbridge believes to need solution. It would be next to impossible to hit upon any single device applicable to all, or even the majority of them, with any hope of benefit. The only common idea, underlying all these complaints, is that the powers of the British government ought to be defined, or, in other words, curtailed. The Native Powers are to be exalted and the British Over-lordship, as represented by its Resident, is to be brought low. I can

fully understand that this view of the matter should be highly popular at Native Courts, even though they may have recently become real gardens of Eden, and abodes of blissful innocence. Few men love the master set over them to keep them in the right way.

But if Sir Roper were to have his will, I fear that the Native Prince would soon find his joy turned into mourning. He would, I fear, find the little finger of the Imperial Council thicker than the loins of the superseded Resident; that new "presbyter" would be "but old 'priest' writ large." Apart, however, from such anticipation, it is not difficult to point out a reason, on the very threshold, why Native Princes, if they knew their own interest, as we must presume they do, should object to submit themselves to an Imperial Council. It is briefly this. As is quite obvious, the existing body of treaties, *etc.*, is of essentially diplomatic origin, presupposing two independent sovereign or *quasi*-sovereign States, who meet and treat on an equal footing. Is any native ruler prepared to descend from this position of advantage and willingly submit his disputes with his suzerain to a council of his peers? Would he prefer their investigation and decision to the orders, even when harsh and arbitrary, of the irresistible power above him? Unless I am very much mistaken, he would much prefer the latter alternative. For years past I have spent some part of every day in reading what Indian historians have recorded of the acts and sayings of their own rulers and nobles; and it would be, to my mind, a miracle if the present generation had so changed as to be ready, even for the common weal, to submit themselves to any arbitrament but that of overwhelming force. Unreasoning jealousy of each other was (and I believe is) the badge of all their tribe. I am no believer in such sudden changes in the nature and character of man: and certainly no change so profound could have come to pass in a single century.

As for publicity, I should say that the native rulers would be the last persons to gain by it or to desire it. Their chosen and hereditary weapon is intrigue, and intrigue above all things shuns the light of day. This reform would, moreover, be necessarily destructive of the existing form of diplomatic intercourse, of which the maintenance is absolutely indispensable, if the princes are to continue to believe in their claim to sovereign rights. On this ground alone a proposal for a public Court or for discussion in public is one that the native princes, I should say, would never cordially accept.

Look again at the rights of the British government, for I presume that some rights cannot be refused even to it. In a matter such as the return of the Berars, is it conceivable that any suzerain power could, without derogation, submit a question of high politics, as that was, to the decision of a Council of Rulers subordinate to itself? Why, that would beat the arbitration on the Alabama claims for weak shortsightedness! Conceive such a Council to be in existence and such a question as that of the Berars to be laid before it. What would become of the claims, possibly the pre-eminently just, claims of the British Government in India? Before such a tribunal they would be fore-doomed to non-recognition. Human nature would be other than it is, if in such circumstances the decision should be

governed by anything but the principle of mutual benefit, present or future. Sir Roper adduces the case of Mulhār Rāo, Gāekwār of Baroda, and seems to think it makes for his plea in favour of a Council. But surely there could not have been a more egregious *fiasco* than that attempt to try a ruler by a jury of his peers. A majority, of the tribunal, composed of all the native members only, acquitted the culprit; the minority was formed of the two Englishmen on it; the Supreme Government promptly removed him from the throne, and interned him for life as a State prisoner! Could anything be more significant than the composition of the majority for acquittal, and the action of the British government adverse to their finding? The Indian Government is hardly likely to so stultify itself a second time.

The Privy Council in England is instanced as a body analogous to that sought to be now created in India. But there is no analogy. The component elements in the one case are all private persons and ordinary subjects; on the other, persons who are, *de jure* at any rate in their own eyes, Sovereign Princes, and even *de facto* are *quasi* independent. Nor does the history of our Privy Council augur well for the future of an Indian body modelled thereon. Its political or State functions have dwindled away and disappeared, in fact if not in name; its judicial attributes have passed to a body of legal experts, clothed with its name, but having in fact none but the slightest connexion with it.

Then what are to be the functions of such an Imperial Council as is foreshadowed by Sir R. Lethbridge? He says they are to be consultative, judicial, and ultimately legislative. Consultative they might easily be made; that we can understand. But we doubt if the members assembled would like to find their advice disregarded, as we are most certain it would be more often than it would be followed. As a judicial body, however, I cannot conceive what matters would be submitted to it. If a court of appeal, in any strict sense, it must be composed of experts, in other words of trained lawyers. In such a body where could a native ruler, even the most enlightened, find a suitable place? Again, any such final court of appeal would be distinctly a derogation from the sovereign rights (whatever they really are) claimed by each native Ruler. How is that difficulty to be surmounted? Unless by mere brute force, how is consent to such a cession of power to be obtained? Here would obviously arise an opportunity for practising the Bismarckian maxim, *Do ut des*; but what have we to offer in exchange, and what price should we be likely to offer for such a mere phantasmal benefit, whether to ourselves or to the population of the Native States?

As to the thought of an Imperial Council exercising legislative powers, the brain reels at the mere prospect. Are they to form a Second Chamber? In the coming days, when India has gained the political *summum bonum* of universal suffrage, is it to the Imperial Council that we are to turn for hope of a *veto* on a resolution of the Lower House ordering our expulsion? Is it owing to its existence that we shall once more be able to say "Thank God we have a House of Lords!" We must not forget, moreover, that such powers must be reciprocal, and if the Council, including "the heads of the British Indian Government," legislates for Native States, it must in return

be allowed to legislate for British India. A situation would thus be created similar in many respects to that of Ireland under Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. And as each state is a separate political entity, it will be entitled, as in the American Senate, to equal and not proportional representation. That is to say, some ten to twelve delegates from the British Indian provinces will be confronted by a serried band of some fifty, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty delegates of the Native States. What would our supremacy then be worth? and what possible mission would then be left for us in India? Rather let us retire of our own free will than succumb to a Frankenstein's monster of our own creation.

Sir R. Lethbridge asserts that the sovereign rights of the Princes are known to every historian and are admitted by every writer. This too sweeping assertion needs more criticism than my time and space allow. I content myself, therefore, with the remark that on this head a wide distinction must be drawn between sovereign rights *de jure* and sovereign rights *de facto*, between rights taken at their origin and rights as they now exist. Of the native dynasties of the present day a very small proportion can carry their title farther back than the first half of the 18th century. The greatest of these States, that of Hyderabad, was founded by a revolted governor, who never himself assumed the full attributes of independent sovereignty. To the end of his life, Nizam-ul-Mulk continued the Friday prayer in the name of the Dihli emperor; he never issued any coinage; he never displayed the scarlet umbrella (*chatr*); in short, he never claimed to be an independent sovereign as of right. Many of the other ruling houses had as their founder some successful robber. My meaning in saying this must not, however, be misunderstood; the question, as one of present-day politics, must be decided on other grounds than these. In fact, to use such antiquarian arguments would be fatal to our own position, which is, after all, no more than that of recent conquerors. If conquest is no title, then our own position in India would be incapable of defence. At the same time we should not forget that the whole present political condition of India is also of modern growth; and that we are not bound to deal with the Native States on any other footing. It is a mistake to look on them as rooted in a hoary antiquity.

Sir Roper appeals to the foundation of the new German Empire as a precedent. But, as it seems to me, the situation in India is just the reverse of what it was in Germany. The minor States who were invited in 1871 to enter a new German Empire were then independent, and at liberty to reject or refuse the proposed union: in India, the Empire is already constituted, our supremacy being declared and exercised from 1858, if not earlier. In the one case, it was necessary, in order to induce independent powers to come in, to offer them a share in the central Government: in the other, as the smaller powers are already within the Empire, no such offer is required. Why, then, should we be asked to make objectless concessions?

My view of Sir R Lethbridge's proposal, so far as I understand it, is that he has made out no *prima facie* case for action; and that even if he had done so, his remedy of an Imperial Council is about the last which

ought to be applied. He is solicitous for the dignity and power of the native princes; but what he advocates would, I am convinced, deal a serious blow at their status as sovereigns, which, so long as it is not too minutely defined, they can flatter themselves as being that of independent sovereigns. If Sir R. Lethbridge ever succeeds, they might justly complain of their friend, and quote the words of the old song "It is all very well to dissemble your love, But why need you kick me down-stairs?"

W. IRVINE.

23d August, 1895.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION AND INDIAN PRINCES, BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

The misconceptions which have obscured Sir Roper Lethbridge's proposal of an Imperial Council for India are due to the assumption that the body in question is to deal with the internal administration of the Native States or with the relations of any one of them to the Supreme Government. It is not too much to say that the smallest Rajput Chief would resent the expression of an opinion regarding his few acres of territory from the biggest Hindu or Muhammadan Prince. Nor would a custom or practice prevailing in one State be acceptable, for that sole reason, in another. Still less would a Chief bring any case in which he was concerned to the knowledge,—certainly not to the decision—of his peers, unless it were a matter legitimately coming intramurally before his caste *panchayet* or the head of his own clan, just as the smallest Hohenzollern might seek the family advice of the King of Prussia and Reuss-Greiz or Reuss-Schleiz would indignantly refuse the interference of the Emperor of Germany in a State that can be traversed in 20 minutes. Still the aim of Sir Roper Lethbridge in his Imperial Council of putting the Indian Princes on the footing of the German Kings is so far feasible as the questions before such a Council would be purely Imperial, such as measures for and defence against a common foe, the proportion between local and imperial armies, certain Railways and any other matter that may regard the Empire as a whole or be considered convenient for adoption by all its States, subject to such special treaty or arrangement as may have been made with any one of them. In home affairs, however, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, etc., down to Lippe-Detmold enjoy the most complete autonomy just as Scindia, Indore, Mysore, etc., down to the Chief of Koti. Nor would it be necessary for the Kings or Chiefs to themselves attend the Imperial Council, except on such special occasions as was the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, in which I took a not altogether unimportant part, and which was part of the general scheme of Lord Lytton to unite all India against any possible *foreign* foe. It was never intended by him that his "Councillors of the Empire" should pry into each other's affairs, or regulate through such a Council their own separate relations with the Paramount Power. *Inter alia*, the Councillors could also be consulted in writing and I see no reason why they should not, under ordinary circumstances, send Delegates to an Imperial Council dealing solely with Imperial questions. This would, of course, leave unaltered the present system of

Residents at the Native States and of their references to the Supreme Government. It might, however, prevent the secret deposition of a Chief without any alleged cause.

The present system, although full of defects and liable to abuse by the arbitrariness or folly of our representatives, is the only one which can preserve the dignity, if not the sovereignty, of each State and, above all, maintain in its integrity whatever is good in the picturesque variety and eminent local suitability of the several native administrations. Indeed, the native States have already been too much anglicized, a process which tends to make their subjects look upon their Chiefs as superfluous, though it may be a reason for changing the status of our "Residents" into that of "Envoys" to their Courts or of abolishing "Residents" altogether. I look upon the native States as the salt for the preservation of the Indian Empire and of the noblest ancient forms of civilization and culture that the world has known, and I only wish that every Indian District could be governed like a native State, founded on the affections and associations of the people and recognizing every local difference in custom, history, and occupation and not with our soul-deadening monotony of routine, only relieved by a seditious Press, that ignores "sentiment" as *the* basis in Oriental countries for a successful and permanent rule.

An Imperial Council, therefore, that would unite by every bond of self-interest and of their own sacred associations, the Chiefs, and through them their subjects for the defence of the Empire against the Slaves that threaten its freedom, would be desirable and I cannot help thinking that philosophical minds, like those of Mr. C. L. Tupper and Mr. W. Lee-Warner, which have so successfully addressed themselves to the consideration of the subject, will find a solution that may alike enhance the dignity, power and independence in their own sphere of the Chiefs and guarantee their treaty-rights as well as increase the safety and strength of the Empire. Whether it would be desirable to give full publicity to the existing "rights," I should leave to the judgment of the above-named authors, who have added a scarcely-rivalled practical knowledge of affairs to theoretical attainments, but of this I am certain that greater publicity regarding Native States generally would protect them and their "Residents" against themselves.

In the meanwhile, however, what is not only within the range of practical politics but is also of urgent necessity is that a body like the EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, the creation of Indian Princes, should, in an objective and independent spirit, take up any legitimate grievance affecting any of the Indian Princes or native States or class of the community and submit it for consideration to the Press, to public meetings and to Parliament. Objections may be raised to an Imperial Council, even with the sole function that I have indicated; the codification or rather the exact definitions of the treaty-rights of each State may be delayed, but there is no reason why one and all of them should not immediately support an Association that, should occasion unfortunately arise for it, would defend whoever is wronged, without any special or further solicitation, by those constitutional means which the friends of India and experts that compose

that body have so often used with success. At all events, Parliament, public meetings and the Press are already to hand and need not wait for a Council. They only require an organization, like that of the East India Association to be correctly "instructed."

The following extract from its statement of "Objects and Policy" may serve to show that in some such organization only can the Indian Princes and people find, when needed, that spontaneous and effective support that does not require the elaborate machinery of an Imperial Council to be set in motion, but that would rejoice in the establishment of such a Council, as an accomplishment of its long-pursued aim in aid of the strengthening of the "Sovereign Princes of India and their relations to the Empire":

"*The Association would specially appeal to the Ruling Princes of India, who are the natural exponents of the opinions and wishes of their fellow countrymen, and whose rights and privileges it will ever strive to maintain.*"

The East India Association in advocating by all legitimate means the interests of the inhabitants of India, has also in the above "statement" of principles, reiterated that its attitude towards Indian questions is strictly conservative in the truest sense, words which sum up its own long and useful career. Whilst standing aloof from party-politics, in their special sense, in this country, it has been conservative of the vested interests and the legitimate claims of the Princes of India, as also of the rights of property, of position, of classical learning and of ancient landmarks generally, the existence of which is threatened both in this country and in India. There is, therefore, a natural bond between the Conservatives and, indeed, of all that is respectable in England and in India, whether princes or people. So much so has this been felt to be the case that on leaving India in 1887 I was asked by Muhammadan and Hindu noblemen to establish relations between them and certain Conservative leaders. The indirect result, in which I have had no share, though I am glad of it, is the candidature of natives of India in England in the Conservative interests and other steps which it is not necessary for me to indicate here, but the success of this alliance depends on the promotion of the Conservative interests of India, namely, the study of its ancient classical languages, the association of the Chiefs and other natural leaders of the people—the gentry, the learned, the priests—with the officers of Government in the popularization of public measures, in the submission of the wants and wishes of the people where they really exist and are not stimulated or invented by agitators, in the restoration of harmonious relations between the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders, and last, not least, in a jealous regard for the maintenance of the interstatal or international rights of the native Chiefs. This is the noble *quid pro quo* in return for their support and with nothing less should they be satisfied. If the Association will help in this direction, it should ask officials and especially the Conservative leaders seriously and carefully to consider whether their intentions for the good of India cannot most naturally be communicated to, and perhaps be occasionally modified by, the experts of this Society.

G. W. LEITNER.

FRENCH PROGRESS IN THE WESTERN SOUDAN: 1894-95.

By Captain S. Pasfield Oliver.

I. The Truth about Timbuctu.

For a long time it was well known that considerable friction existed between the military and the civilian officials in the old French Colony of Senegal and in that far more extensive region, the recently acquired dominion of the country on both sides of the Niger, called the French Soudan. This state of affairs became so unbearable that the critical situation was at length brought to the notice of Parliament by M. Le Hérissé. On the 4th March last, this deputy gave a clear and succinct account of the late military expeditions in the Soudan which culminated in the somewhat premature dash on Timbuctu and in the subsequent occupation of that city by Colonel Joffre in 1894.

M. Le Hérissé's able statement made all the more impression on the Chamber, inasmuch as he is not one of those who have re-echoed the parrot-like cry of "Colonial Expansion"; but, on the contrary, he has, hitherto, consistently voted against the credits demanded in support of the numerous aggressive expeditions undertaken in Africa and elsewhere.* The following is the gist of his remarks:

From the explanations of the official press and of M. Delcassé (the first appointed Colonial Minister) it was made to appear that the conquest of the Soudan had been effected by French officers acting independently and against the wishes of the Government; but, according to M. Le Hérissé, had full reports from these military leaders been published in the *Journal Officiel*, a very different story would have been related, fully establishing that these officers merely followed the exact instructions of the central administration. In all countries the actions of military officers have ever been

* "Je ne suis pas un Colonial, et j'ai toujours voté contre les crédits affectés à ce qu'on appelle notre expansion au dehors."

disavowed by civilian officials. As long ago as February 1888, General Faidherbe, (who made Senegal what it is, and who indeed may be said to have created French power in the Soudan) was able to report the happy effect produced by the navigation of the Upper Niger by the gunboat commanded by Lieut. Caron, and by its arrival at Timbuctu. Again in 1889, M. Etienne, then an Under-Secretary of State, published an inspired brochure, in which it was clearly demonstrated that Timbuctu was the real objective of the Government. On the 19th December 1889, Col. Archinard pointed out the means to be adopted to effect the occupation of Timbuctu: and in 1893, after that splendid campaign of Macina (which, as is well known, was thoroughly approved of by the Home Government) the occupation of Timbuctu had been recognised as inevitable by the Government. A deputation from that city had been sent to the Commandant of the Soudan, and Col. Combes had immediately reported the circumstance to the Government. Had the authorities at home wished to stay further progress, this was a favourable opportunity for stopping Col. Combes and telling him not to go beyond Ségou. But, what did the Government do? In their despatch, of 7th August 1893, they replied in the vaguest terms—"*Soyez prudent, n'écoutez les ouvertures que si elles sont sérieuses,*" which, in the language of the Colonial administration, as usually interpreted in the service, signifies "Go on! If you are successful, we shall back you up; but, if you fail, we shall throw you over." This was the invariable tenor of the Government instructions. In like fashion, when Col. Bonnier was left in charge, he never ceased to keep the home Government perfectly well informed, from day to day, of his projects and of everything that occurred.

Such was the state of affairs when a total upset of all military plans was produced in the Soudan by the decree of the 22nd November 1893, nominating M. Grodet Civil Governor. This official arrived on the 26th December at Kayes—the central headquarter of the Colony—and thence

he telegraphed on the same date to Col. Bonnier, who was at Ségou, informing him that he had taken over the Government. On the previous evening (according to M. Le Hérissé)* Col. Bonnier had learnt that the sailors of Lieut. Boiteux, overstepping his orders, had entered into Timbuctu. Realizing the danger, Col. Bonnier fulfilled the first duty of a soldier: he assembled all the disposable troops, sent off by land a column under the orders of Commandant Joffre, whilst he himself embarked in boats to bring assistance to the flotilla. M. Le Hérissé continues his *apologia* thus,—

In this marvellous raid,—one of the finest marches recorded in military history,—the French troops covered 1,100 kilomètres in fifteen days, marching eighteen hours *per diem.*

This is what Col. Bonnier did, in going to the aid of a Lieutenant, who had got himself into a hornet's nest, in spite of his superior officer's orders. On the 26th December 1893, when M. Grodet arrived at Kayes, Col. Bonnier telegraphed to him to acknowledge that officer's assumption of the Government and to inform him that he was obliged to advance to the support of Lieut. Boiteux who was engaged with the enemy at Timbuctu, and that he would await the fresh orders of the Governor. Meantime Col. Bonnier continued the forward movement of his column by water, down the flooded stream of the Niger, whilst his second in command, Col. Joffre, with all the cavalry and pack animals proceeded by land at some distance north of the left bank of the great river, and through a broken and difficult country with inhabitants notoriously hostile to all Europeans. The troops under the immediate command of Col. Bonnier were embarked on all sorts of boats, lighters and canoes—(the "pirogues" of the Niger fishermen, called "somonos," constructed to hold but two persons, were

* M. Edouard Guillaumet, however, states that M. Grodet's telegraphic message to Col. Bonnier reached that officer at Ségou before he started: whilst Lieut. Boiteux's despatch, announcing the massacre of Aube and entry into Timbuctu arrived at Ségou after the departure of the expedition and was forwarded to Col. Bonnier.

actually freighted with three tirailleurs, arms and baggage) —to the number of 300 vessels. In this vast flotilla of frail embarkations frequent capsizes constantly occurred; cooking was impossible on board such craft; and the soldiers for several days had to content themselves with what boiled rice they had prepared and a little salt. Neither meat, bread, biscuit, wine nor "*tafia*" could be served out. The boatmen, "*bosos*," were even reduced to raw millet.

Meantime Lieut. Boiteux had moved up his two gunboats, the *Mage* and the *Niger*, armed with Hotchkiss machine-guns, to Kabara, the port of Timbuctu. He had armed, equipped and drilled his native sailors, "*laptots*," to serve as an improvised body of marine infantry, and on Christmas Day 1893, he had entered Timbuctu. Three days afterwards, his subaltern, M. Léon Aube, and his fifteen "*laptots*" were cut off by the Touareg Arabs after the French had expended their ammunition and slain at a locality, known as Our 'Maira, a little distance from Kabara.

Such are the facts, as told by M. Le Hérissé, but it is manifestly impossible to suppose that Col. Bonnier's expedition was undertaken to assist Lieut. Boiteux and to avenge the slaughter of Aube's detachment, as M. Le Hérissé would have us to believe, for Col. Bonnier's column had started on the 26th December.

M. Edouard Guillaumet, the son of the well-known painter, very pluckily determined to go out to the Soudan and enquire on the spot. He has brought back a very curious story. He states that, when Col. Bonnier heard that a civilian Governor had been appointed to supersede the military commandant of the French Soudan, he determined to put into execution a wild and ambitious scheme, which had long been in his mind. His plan was first to descend the Niger and occupy Timbuctu, the prestige of which successful *coup* would enable his column to continue the descent of the Niger, receiving or enforcing the submission of all the intervening tribes along the banks, whilst

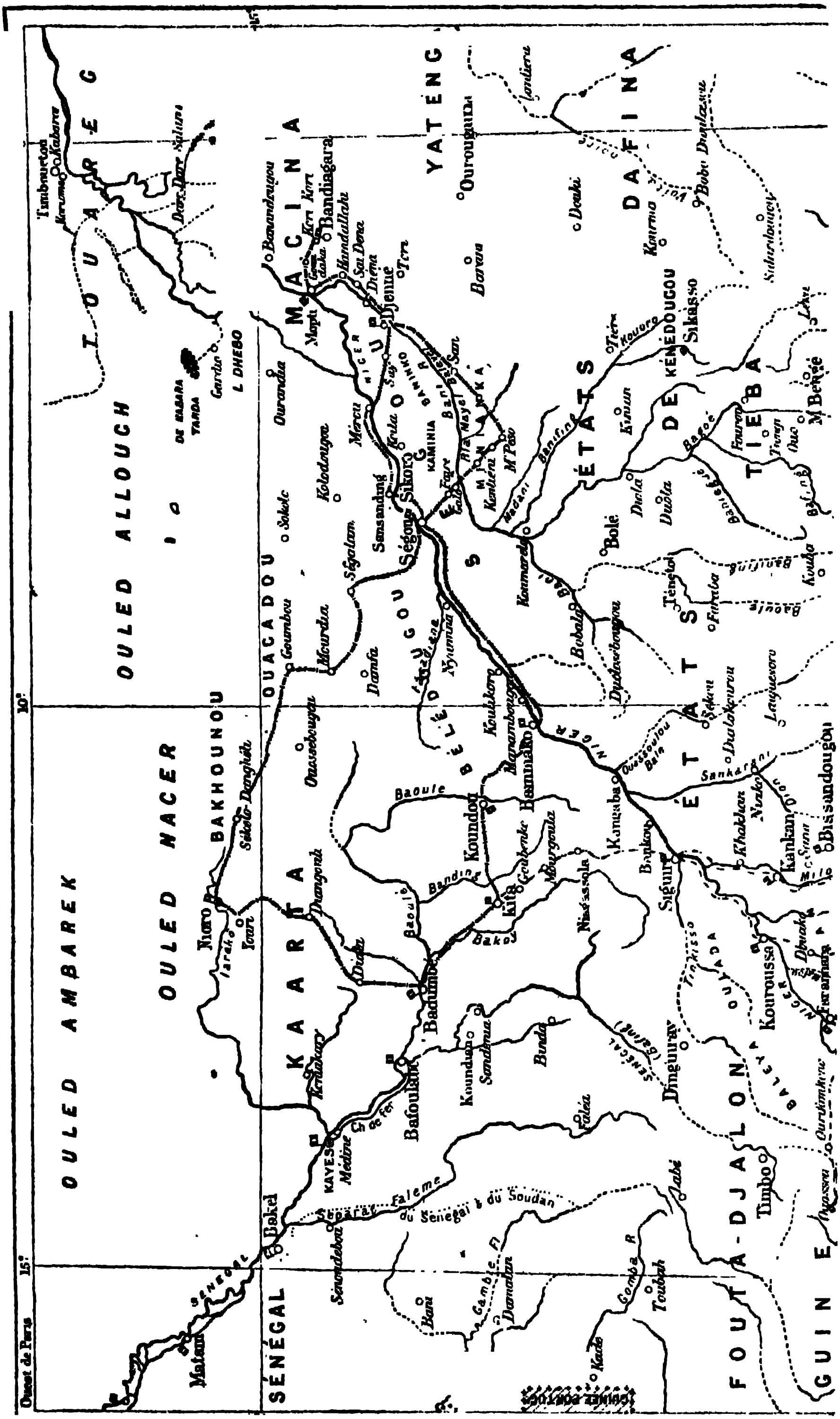
he left Col. Joffre's land column in possession of the great Saharan city. He even intended to continue his progress as far down the river as Say, the great town on the borders of the British sphere of influence, at least 1,000 kilometres to the South-East, which has since been entered by Lieut. Baud.

Here he would land his force and, marching westwards overland towards Kong, he intended to accomplish the definite conquest of the states yet held by Samory, after surprising and overthrowing the "*Sofas*," who would be met in the other direction by the troops of Commandant Richard, by that time near Bissandougou. Indeed, as it turned out, Commdt. Richard had actually advanced his column as far as Niossomorobougou towards Kong from the west, when learning the disaster near Timbuctu, he retraced his steps to Kankan.

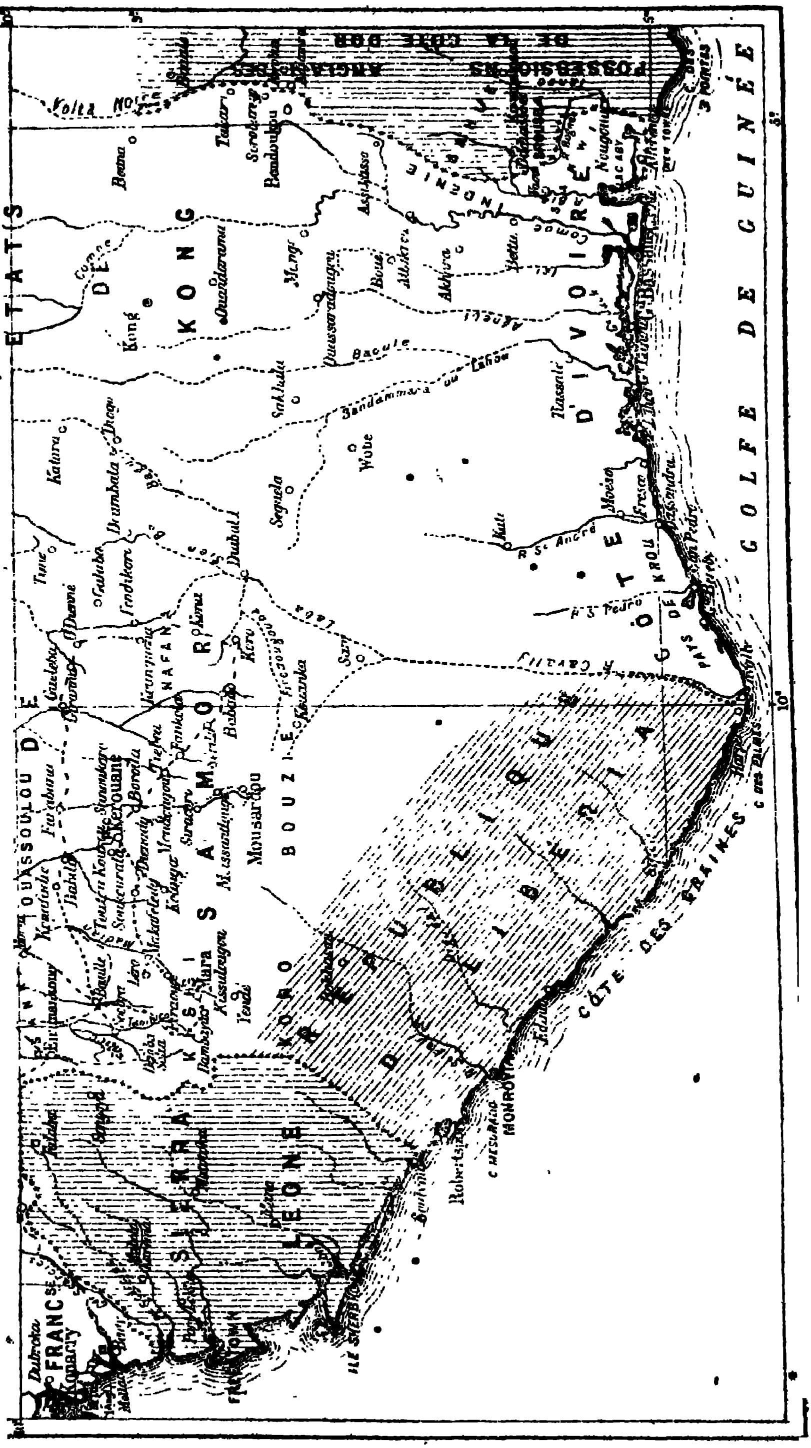
This bold but feasible plan might have been carried out in its entirety had it not been for the premature move of Lieut. Boiteux, whose gunboats should have aided the progress of the column; and, had it not been for the excitement caused by the massacre of M. Aube's men, Timbuctu might have been occupied without a shot being fired, or a single Frenchman lost.

Col. Bonnier entered Timbuctu with his staff and the advanced portion of his column on the 11th January 1894. The notables of the city had fled to Araouan, for, fearing reprisals on the part of the Touareg, they would not connive at the surrender of the open town to the French. Nevertheless the inhabitants remained passive, crowding to see the entry of the French, though much disquieted by anxiety as to future operations.

The very next morning, 12th January, although his troops were much in need of rest and refreshment, Col. Bonnier, leaving a detachment to await the arrival of the guns and supplies with the remainder of his column, marched west towards Goundam to avenge the slaughter of Our 'Maïra on the Tenguereguiff Arabs, several of whose camps were



MAP OF THE FRENCH SOUDAN.


GOLFE DE GUINÉE
CÔTE DES GRAINES
MONROVIA
SIERRA LEONE
KONG
OUASSOULOU
Volta Noire
Comoé
Bandamma ou Lahou
Baoulé
R. St André
R. Cavally
PAYS DE KROU
POSSESSIONS ANGLAISES DE LA CÔTE D'OR

dotted at intervals along the margin of the inundated marshes between Kabara and the "*marigot*" of Goundam. He, apparently, expected to drive them into the arms of the strong advancing land column under Col. Joffre.

So little opposition did Col. Bonnier apprehend, that this trip was regarded more in the light of a picnic than a serious reconnaissance in an enemy's country; and, it is said, (I know not with how much truth) that the officers of the staff did not even take their swords with them. Possibly their side arms had been left behind in the boats. The Europeans were mounted on donkeys, and the small column took three days' rations with them. On the 14th, a small party under Lieut. Sarda was left at Massacoré, near Dongoi, in charge of a quantity of cattle found at the Arab camp there, which had been hastily deserted at the advent of the French; but the main body pushed on wearily in pursuit of the flying Arabs as far as Tacoubao, where the bivouac for the night was established in another abandoned encampment. Here not only cattle but some women and children had also been left by the Arabs,—a sure sign that the nomads intended mischief and were not far off.

By this time the Commandant of the expedition seems to have been too *exalté*, and wholly absorbed in his determination to penetrate further into Africa and achieve the conquest of the middle Niger and the vast territories intervening within the huge bend, or *boucle* of that river. Infected by their chief's evident pre-occupation, the large staff of officers likewise appear to have shared his indifference to present circumstances; and even the regimental officers lost all their anxiety or presumed their enemy to be completely demoralized. The black tirailleurs also, were utterly worn out by fatigue, and after piling arms and getting some food, threw themselves on the ground at some distance in rear and were all very soon fast asleep. Three or four sentries were, it is true, posted by the subaltern on duty; but even these were too worn out to watch.

The unexpected arrived with a vengeance. As soon as

the moon had set, on the morning of the 15th January, before daybreak, an onslaught was made by the Arabs who had collected in the vicinity. For in truth those very Touaregs who had been supposed to be fleeing over the sand dunes before the advancing Sénégalais tirailleurs, had wheeled round as soon as out of sight and closed in rear: the pursuers had, throughout their three days' march, been really the pursued.

There was no fight:—it was a massacre. The French taken wholly unawares were cut down or speared, even before they could seize their arms. But two or three escaped to tell the tale; and all Col. Bonnier's ambitious dreams were effectually extinguished with his life. When Col. Joffre's column reached the spot three weeks later, on the 8th February, those bodies which could be identified were taken to Timbuctu for interment.

Col. Joffre was able within a few weeks to organize a regular series of operations against the Tengueregulff Arabs: and the tribe which had cut off Col. Bonnier's column was well-nigh exterminated. The French position at Timbuctu was now thoroughly assured.

II. Slavery in the Soudan of to-day.

Meantime some difficulty was experienced in the Bambara states, south of Mopti, where Commandant Quiquandon, whose headquarters were at Ségou, had established a garrison under Capt. Bonnacorsi.

Ali Kali, the King of Bossé, had raised the flag of Mahomedan independence at his town, against which Comm. Quiquandon marched from Bandiagara, accompanied by the Chief Agibou's friendly auxiliaries.

When the French reached Bossé, Hadji Ali Kali was in his "*tata*," a fortified, or rather walled *enceinte*, separated from the village of Bossé by an open space. The village was soon taken, after considerable resistance, and then the mountain guns shelled the "*tata*." The Mahomedan defenders fought bravely; and Ali Kali himself, heading a

desperate sortie, died, as a chief should, in front of the sacred mosque he was protecting, sword in hand,—one more illustration of that extraordinary zeal for their faith so often exhibited by sincere followers of the Prophet. How bitter the resistance was is evidenced by the number lost by the French: nine killed and 149 wounded, including Capt. Bonnacorsi and three French officers. After the village had been taken, the French were again attacked by a number of tribesmen from the neighbourhood, who had assembled to aid Ali Kali. These enthusiastic Bambaras charged right up to the muzzles of the French rifles, with shouts of "*Allah! Allah!*" but were shot down by the Sénégalais tirailleurs, who knew not *Allah*, being Fetish idolaters.

A few words must now be said with regard to the treatment of the captives by the French in the course of these operations, as related circumstantially by M. Edouard Guillaumet, whose evidence is believed in France, for he has been since officially recognised by M. Ribot's Government as delegate for the Soudan, and his interesting little work has been so popular that a second edition has been lately issued. Curiously enough, Exeter Hall does not seem to have appreciated its exposure of facts which have long been patent to all Europe.

M. Guillaumet makes the following remarkable statement at pp. 154-155:—

"These different experiments, (which he had described) towards the abolition of slavery had worn out the good feelings of the conquerors. And now occurred this extraordinary thing, that, not being able to suppress it, they made use of it. We ourselves became like everyone else, *slave dealers*; and for several years past, the captive is considered by us, as among the negroes, as money with which we pay our soldiers, our servants, our porters, for all the world like Samory and Ahmadou.

"When we take by force possession of a village, we follow the usual tradition. Thus, for example, in our last campaign in Mossi, against Ali Kali (related above) at Bossé, we surrounded a village, blew open a breach in the wall of the '*tata*,' and killed during the assault every man in front of us, about seven or eight hundred Mahomedans.

"The affair over, there remained in the village about twelve hundred human beings. All this number became the booty of the conqueror, and

a regular division was made of these prisoners. The officers had right to a certain number,—six I believe—two-thirds for their 'boys'; the soldiers of the 'légion étrangère' had likewise their share, and lastly they paid the tirailleurs, the porters and the drivers with this human merchandise. Some days afterwards it was found necessary to hand over a lot of captives to the auxiliary legionaries, who at once opened a regular slave traffic for the market at Djenné, at from 25 to 30 francs per head, which was allowed to the tirailleurs, who even, on their return, came to offer me their slaves in the market at Ségou.

"It is but just as well to add, that the tirailleurs and the Spahis engage themselves under our flags, as well as our domestics who enter our service, solely with this object:—to make captives, and their courage and their energy are proportionate to the value of the prizes which they know they will seize behind the walls of the 'tata' which they have to assault."

(Ségou, it must be borne in mind is the headquarters of a French Colonial district with telegraphic connection to Kayes, Saint Louis, Paris and London.)

This was written in this year of grace, 1895; and to make any comment would be superfluous.

III. The Operations of the Column under Colonel Monteil.

From the columns of *Le Temps*, I am permitted to give the following account of the French operations in another region of the Soudan, where an old and terrible enemy of ourselves as well as of the French is still at large and increasing the sphere of his dominion. It is an old story how, chased from the banks of the Niger, by successive campaigns under Colonels Borgnis-Desbordes Archinard, Humbert, Combes and Bonnier, the Almamy of Bissandougou had been forced to abandon not only the conquests which he had made to the North, West and South of his native province, but also the regions watered by the river Milo, where his star had first risen and where his influence and fortune had been established. The road to the East alone remained open to him, and thither he now transferred his career of robbery and slaughter when French conquests had driven him back from the Niger. A band of "*Sofas*," commanded by one of his best officers, Sékouba, began, four years ago, the conquest of the territories, situated in the river valleys

extending to the south of the great basin of the Niger towards the coast. That of the Upper Cavally was first of all invaded; and then came the turn of the Bandama, or Lahou. It may be remembered that it was in the Valley of Bandama that Capt. Ménard was killed, on the 4th February 1892, by the "*Sofas*" of Sékouba, while endeavouring to defend his host, the Chief of the village of Séguéla, against the invaders.

The progress of the bands of Samory, slow at first, became more marked when the Almamy* recognised the impossibility of regaining his former possessions. Sékouba collected the debris of the columns which Col. Combes had dispersed in his magnificent campaign of 1892-93. On the 4th August 1893, the town of Sakhala fell into his power. In June 1894, he invaded Tagoune, a province of the State of Kong and which touches, so to speak, that centre of the political and commercial supremacy of the Ouattaras.

The movements of the "*Sofas*" were watched by Capt. Marchand, who had been sent on a mission to Bandama to study a practical route for penetrating towards the interior going from the Ivory Coast to the basin of the Niger. Capt. Marchand, who had also been able to go from Kong to Tengrela at the beginning of 1894, pointed out the precarious situation in which Kong and the neighbouring regions would soon be placed. Kong being under French protection, the chief appealed for European aid, and sent delegates to the coast to ask it. A refusal on the part of the French would have been a confession of failure, quite unintelligible to the populations of the Niger after the previous success of French arms in the Soudan and Dahomey. M. Dupuy's government, on the proposition of the then Colonial minister, M. Delcassé, decided at the end of August 1894, to give a favourable answer to the demands of the Kong chief, supported in addition by the governor of the Colony, Capt. Binger.

As it is no doubt remembered, at the end of the Anglo-

* Samory's title is the *Almamy*, or religious chief of Bissandougou.

Congolese convention of the 14th May 1894, the parliament had voted credits intended for sending to the Upper Oubangui a battalion of Senegalese tirailleurs with two batteries of artillery. These forces were placed under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Monteil, who had been previously appointed to fill the post of Commissioner in the Upper Oubangui.

As the State of Congo, however, had abandoned its adventurous projects and signed the Franco-Congolese agreement of the 14th August, the sending of this expedition became altogether unnecessary. It was, therefore, decided that only two companies should be directed towards Oubangui, where they were to rejoin the somewhat weak contingents at the disposal of Comm. Decazes; and that the other two companies, with the battery of mountain guns, were to return to Grand-Bassam, to act in the Kong country from the Ivory Coast. The column of the Upper Oubangui, immediately on its arrival at Loango, was so divided; and the main body, under Col. Monteil, re-embarked to return to Grand-Bassam, where it arrived on the 12th September 1894.

The Colony of the Ivory Coast is a new one, although the French establishments of Grand-Bassam and Assinie were founded long ago. It did not possess sufficient *matériel* for provisioning the little column which was being formed; everything had to be improvised, and under difficult circumstances.

First of all Col. Monteil, whose powers were completely independent of the Governor of the Colony, M. Binger, after consulting with Capt. Marchand, asked for additional forces. He did not consider it possible with two companies to advance inland for the protection of Kong against the eventual attacks of Samory, while assuring to himself a line of operation extending over at least 600 miles inland. Reinforcements were, therefore, sent. Two companies of *Haoussas* came to him from Dahomey, where, since Behanzin had been crushed, the most absolute peace reigns

undisturbed. Senegal furnished three additional companies of Senegalese tirailleurs, and sent beside half a squadron of Senegalese *Spahis*. A Battery of mountain guns was also added to the first. In fact the column was, by degrees, raised to 7 Companies, half a squadron of *Spahis* and two mountain batteries, together with the *matériel* and the supplies considered necessary. The manner in which the *matériel* was dispatched has been criticised. It appears, among other things, that the packages were not prepared with a view to their being carried on men's backs; and this must have affected in many ways the march of the column. An inquiry, afterwards opened with regard to this at the Colonial Office, showed a want of proper information and inquiries, which the Intelligence Branch should have pointed out.

'Two routes lead to Kong: the one, followed on two occasions by Capt. Binger, by Treich-Laplène, Braulot, *etc.*, passes by the valley of Courvé and starts from Grand-Bassam. It offers great obstacles to the march of a column, by reason that the forest region extends from the coast to a depth of about 250 miles. For this reason it was rejected; and also because the country of Indenié which had to be traversed was in excitement by the unfortunate Pool expedition and the intrigues of the native agents of the neighbouring colony. Finally, which was in itself a sufficient reason, Capt. Marchand, in his exploration up the valley of Bandama, had discovered a little above Thiassalé, an elevated plateau at 300 feet above the sea, watered by the Bandama, clear of forests and extending one spur to a point within nearly 70 miles of the sea. The forest zone was thus here reduced to its minimum breadth; the road of Bandama appeared therefore to be the most favourable. It was adopted by the commander of the column all the more readily because, after the submission of Thiassalé to Capt. Marchand, the governor of the Colony had sent MM. Pobéguin and Nebout to occupy the posts established at Thiassalé (30 miles from Grand-

Lahou), situated to the North of the sea and Toumodi (70 miles from Thiassalé).

Besides, the Marchand mission had created posts at Kouadiokofi (65 miles to the north of Toumodi), and at Kong itself (200 miles from Kouadiokofi), Capt. Marchand had at the end of April, founded an establishment where he had left on the 1st July his former travelling-companion, M. Bailly, with an escort of 12 Senegalese tirailleurs.

The route to Kong by Bandama was thus marked out. Col. Monteil despatched two companies there at the beginning of October 1894. One of them (No. 10 Co. of the Regiment of Senegalese tirailleurs) garrisoned Kouadiokofi, a strategical point commanding the centre of Baoulé, the other, (the 9th) remained in the lower part of the Bandama.

It was then that the incident of Bonoua happened. This village, adjoining Grand-Bassam, had always been hostile to the French; and the *ad interim* Governor of the Colony requested Col. Monteil to destroy this centre of resistance. The 9th Co. was then recalled from Grand-Lahou; it joined the 13th, which arrived from Senegal; and Col. Monteil sent the two, under the command of Chef-de-bataillon Pineau, to take possession of Bonoua. Part of the artillery was on the Bandama route; the remainder still at Grand-Bassam. The attack upon Bonoua, on the 9th November, failed, and the French had several killed and 60 wounded. Col. Monteil arrived 8 days after, with two mountain guns, which after thirty rounds, caused Bonoua to be evacuated and it was occupied without one of the French being seriously wounded.

At the end of November, the commander of the expedition started for Dabou, a village situated on the lagoon extending in a direction parallel to the shore, and took the land route in marching on Thiassalé. Next arrived in succession two companies of Haoussas from Dahomey,

two companies of Senegalese (the 14th and 15th), 50 *Spahis* and a convoy of 200 mules.

They concentrated at Thiassalé during December; and on the 28th, the column started in the direction of Toumodi, already occupied by a company of Haoussas.

The question of porters always plays an important part in African expeditions, where for want of carriage-roads and of beasts of burden, one is obliged to have recourse to the inhabitants for transporting provisions and war material. When the countries to be traversed have a dense population and are submissive to military authority, as, *e.g.*, in certain regions of the Soudan, Dahomey and the lower Congo, it is possible to organise a regular system of transport by convoys formed of the natives who are more or less willing to undertake this labour if well paid. In new countries, explorers have naturally much trouble in finding people to carry their baggage, and they are only birds of passage. How much greater, then, must be the difficulty, when one is obliged to appeal for assistance which is generally afforded grudgingly and with curses and too often enforced by cruel methods. With more or less difficulty one gets from 500 to 1,000 coolies impressed; and when they have the chance and opportunity, they revolt and refuse to proceed. And this is what here actually occurred, where Marchand, Pobéguin, and Nebout had been able to obtain from the Chief of Baoulé some bands of porters; for, while the officers commanding the companies at the head of the column had been able to recruit their *personnel* with which they went to occupy Kouadiokofi and Toumodi, Col. Monteil found himself stopped for want of porters.

On the 28th December, the very day on which the column left Thiassalé to advance on the road to Kong, all the porters requisitioned in the region South of Baoulé (the Canton of N'Ban) bolted incontinently. The country rose up in revolt and very soon 450 poorly armed natives began

to harass the column. The commander of the expedition rightly judged that he could not advance into the interior until he had reduced the Baoule. He therefore concentrated his column in the environs of Singonobo, a village situated between Thiassalé and Toumodi, on the borders of the forest. The unequal struggle against the natives commenced and lasted six weeks—a nice beginning. It was the middle of February, 1895, before the column was able to start again on its forward march, leaving behind at Thiassalé a company of Haoussas, two mounted guns and a company of Senegalese tirailleurs, with a battery of Artillery at Singonobo. At the port of Toumodi, it left the second company of Haoussas; so that when it arrived at Kouadiokofi, on the 20th February, the main column numbered 4 companies of Senegalese (the 9th, 10th, 14th and 15th), 26 *Spahis* and two guns.

Col. Monteil had only left at Kouadiokofi,—where he had already found the Administrator Nebout with a few militia—a small garrison composed principally of invalids and of those who were not fit for the campaign. Then he advanced to meet Samory and the forces which the Almamy had brought back with him for conquering the Kong country. Samory, beaten by Humbert and Combes in the Upper Niger, had attempted several times to take possession of the states of his adversary, the *fama* of Sikasso, and an ally under French protection.

It was to defend Ba Bemba, the son and successor of Tieba, threatened by Samory in his capital of Sikasso, that Col. Bonnier, a few weeks before the mishap at Tacubao (15th January, 1895), had attacked the "*Sofas*" of Samory in the valley of the Bani. The bands of the Almamy had been beaten, on the 4th December, at Faragara, near Tenetou; and the next day, after being nearly captured at Koloni by the Soudanese *Spahis*, Samory had fled southwards.

But the Almamy was as resolute as he is brave. He thought that after the occupation of Timbuctu, the French

would not be able to defend their allies, and that he would in the end get the better of Ba Bemba. He therefore started again with his contingents on the route of Sikasso. It was then, that despairing of creating a new kingdom in the valley of the Niger, he turned back upon the bands which Segouba was leading by degrees to the conquest of the Kong country. Samory thus took the command of his "*Sofas*" himself, and invaded the Kong country. On the 12th February, he entered Djimini, a province situated south of Kong, just at the moment that Col. Monteil arrived with his little column.

Monteil arrived, on the 27th February, at Satama Soukoro situated about 100 miles from Kouadiokofi and 140 from Kong. Having started on the 21st from Kouadiokofi, he had marched, on an average, 20 kilomètres a day. The Colonel sent the 9th Company forward, which with Capt. Marchand had, on the 3rd March, an encounter with Samory's "*Sofas*" at Lafiboro, 15½ miles north of Satama.

Col. Monteil at once made preparations for attacking Samory vigorously. On the 5th March, he quitted Lafiboro, and made for Sokhala Dioulassou, where Samory had established his base and depôt of supplies and ammunition. On the 7th March, at 11 p.m., Sokhala Dioulassou was brilliantly carried and Monteil made a considerable capture of horses, oxen, food, war *matériel, etc.* Samory, not knowing where he would next be attacked, had divided into several bodies his troops, then composed of several thousand men, of whom a thousand were armed with magazine rifles. He was not long in recovering from his surprise, and hastened to concentrate all his people. To gain time for preparation and also to obtain information as to the objective of the French operations, he started negociations, offering to submit if the Kong country were left to him.

In reality, the Almamy did not intend to make a treaty, as he knew that he had before him only a handful of men

—not exceeding 350 rank and file. On the 13th March, after three days of *pourparlers*, he let the Colonel know that the struggle was to begin again, and that he, Samory, would not be the first to leave off.

The booty taken by the French invaders was burnt, and on the morning of the 14th, the column moved against the "*Sofas*." A fight ensued in the village of Sobala, during which Monteil was wounded in the knee. The "*Sofas*," as usual, were forced to retreat and the column took the road to Satama-Soukoro. Samory followed in rear and then began an uninterrupted series of harassing fights. One took place, on the 15th March, at Dabakala; another on the 16th at Kotola; at Tagouaxo, at Farako, at Tatahdougou, at the river Bey. In this last fight the famous Sékouba was killed. On the 17th March, they were again fighting at Gouanaladougou, and at 10 p.m., they at last, reached Satamasoukoro.

There Col. Monteil found an order from the Colonial Minister, M. Chautemps relieving him of his command and instructing him to give up the direction of operations to Chef-de-bataillon Caudrelier, who had been entrusted by Monteil with the command of the bases of the operation. It was quite time, for the French soldiers were quite exhausted and worn out. It was impossible to remain at Satama-Soukoro, where Samory's attacks would soon have made an end of the 4,000 rifle cartridges and the 80 rounds of shell which were all that remained for the mountain guns. Besides, the country was up in arms and overrun by natives fleeing from the "*Sofas*." The failure of the operation was complete.

On the 23rd March, the column retired upon Kouadiokofi where it arrived on the 27th, and found there Caudrelier. His instructions were to try and protect Kong with those companies which had not taken part in the march. Such a campaign would certainly have led up to a disaster, as Samory had cantonned his "*Sofas*" on the banks of the river Nzi, half way between Kouadiokofi

and Satama. They contented themselves, therefore, with leaving two detachments of infantry and one section of artillery with two guns at the post of Kouadiokofi; and the main column returned to Toumodi, Monteil suffering more and more from his wound, Comm. Pineau and Capt. Baratier ill, and almost all the other officers unfit to continue the campaign. Comm. Caudrelier remained in the country, to organize the troops intended to occupy the posts which the French meant to hold permanently while the greater portion of the column, in obedience to the instructions received, marched back to the coast. On the 8th April, it reached Thiassalé and by the 13th it got back to Grand Lahou. Samory, master of the Upper Valley of the Badama, entered Kong at the end of March, M. Bailly and his tirailleurs having already evacuated that post about the middle of March, and made their way to the French settlements in the Soudan. The whole affair was a wretched business and contributed nothing towards the progress of the French in West Africa.

IV. Commandant Decoeur's Mission.

Before concluding, it may be as well to note the explorations of the French in other directions towards the countries contained within the great bend of the Niger, between Timbuctu and Say, generally known as "*la boucle du Niger.*"

Chef-d'escadron of the Marine Artillery, Henry Alexis Decoeur, chief of the staff to Col. Dumas, commanding the troops in Dahomey, was despatched on a mission towards the interior, a year ago, by M. Chautemps.

His party consisted of 5 Frenchmen, including Lieutenants Baud and Vargoz, with Dr. Danjou; 48 Haoussas, 35 native police and over 200 porters. Comm. Decoeur's exploring party left Porto Novo on the 25th August, 1894, reaching Nikki on the 25th November, where a treaty was concluded with the ruler of that district. (It will be remembered that Capt. Lugard also claims to have concluded

a treaty with this chief of Nikki for the Royal Niger Company.) Before reaching Nikki, M. Decoeur had wished to make a treaty with Acpaki, Chief of the country of Parakou, which forms the immediate "*hinterland*" of Upper Dahomey. But Acpaki was then besieging Bassila, a village situated close to the Franco-German frontier. The Mission, therefore, was forced to incline its path towards the west; but at the beginning of November it came in contact with Acpaki, who did not hesitate to sign the treaty of Protectorate; for the recent events in Dahomey were perfectly known throughout the Chabé country and contributed to the cordiality of the Chief.

On leaving Bassila, the mission went on to Séméré, passing through the country of Koulé, where a language is spoken altogether different from that of Chabé. Koulé is the state bordering on the limits of the German frontier of Tsautyo, which does not extend here in an eastern direction as shown on German maps. All the Koulé chiefs placed themselves under French protection, like the King of Séméré. To the east of this little State begins the country of Sougou, whose capital is Wangava. Sougou extends to the banks of the Ocparra, to the east of which is the country of Nikki.

The Chiefs of Nikki are completely independent. The territory of Boussa, situated on the banks of the Niger, was formerly a dependency of Nikki; but for the last ten years, since the Royal Niger Company entered into relations with the village-chiefs of the Niger, bribing them with presents, and furnishing them with arms and munitions of war, the Boussa Chief has disavowed the authority of his legitimate king. The two states are therefore politically separate; but by traditional right the Boussa chief is the vassal of the king of Nikki, a situation differing widely from the theory put forward by the British Niger Company. A treaty was formally concluded, on the 26th November, with the legi[redacted] king. The Decoeur

Mission, having by that time expended its supplies and being unable to obtain more, left Nikki on the 29th November, 1894, and returned to Carnotville, to replenish its stores, passing *en route* through the village of Parakou, where, since February last, the Governor of Dahomey, M. Ballot, has established a French post. From Carnotville, the Mission proceeded directly, by way of Wangara and Kouandé, to Makka, arriving on the 31st December. Some slight difficulties were experienced in passing the village of Birni and Kouandé, which three years previously had closed the way to the German escort under Lieut. Kling; but the apprehensions of the chiefs were calmed, and M. Decoeur got to Makka without further trouble.

At Makka, the expedition divided. Comm. Decoeur despatched hence his second in command, Lieut. Baud, with Lieut. Vargoz, 25 Senegalais and 75 porters, provisioned for 60 days, to the nearest point of the Niger, while he himself, with the remainder, marched on Sansanni-Mango through an altogether savage country, where the inhabitants are stark naked, a rare thing in the Western Soudan. Only two communities of natives were met with, at Ouavo and Makeri, and with their Chiefs satisfactory treaties were made. At Sansanni-Mango, where the Mission arrived on the 7th January, 1895, the Chief stated that he had treated, six months previously, with a native officer of the English colony of the Gold Coast, named Captain Fergusson. He exhibited the text of this document,—a simple treaty of commerce and friendship, in the name of the Queen's government, with a clause inserted by which the Chief was prohibited from placing his country under the protection of any European Power. Comm. Decoeur remained three whole days at Sansanni-Mango, and next went to Pélélé, the first village of the Gourma country, whose capital, Nungu or Fada N'Gurma, is situated in 12° N., about 150 kilometres north of Pélélé. When the Mission left the village, whilst Doctor Danjou was sent back with the [illegible] the German Lieut. von Karnap

arrived, despatched from the Mission under Doctors Grüner and Dering, which had just reached Sansanni-Mango. After a courteous greeting with the French officers, he hurried on to the North, much faster than the more heavily freighted French caravan. Von Karnap went towards Say, stopping at Pama, Matchakuali and Kankantchari—all villages of Gourma, with a view to placing them all under German protection.

On reaching Pama, some hours after Lieut. von Karnap, M. Decoeur received from the Chief of the village a paper given him by the German officer, with instructions to show it to the French who came after him. This document, written in Arabic, stated that Lieut. Karnap had taken possession of Pama in the name of the German Emperor. But M. Decoeur learnt that the Chief of Pama had neither signed nor approved of any treaty of Protectorate; and, moreover, that this village Chief was merely a dependent of the King who lived at Nungu and ruled the whole of the Gourma district.

Meantime, whilst the German officer continued on his way to Say, Comm. Decoeur, satisfied that Lieut. Bau[illegible] must have arrived at that important capital first, proce[illegible] rapidly to Nungu, covering in 3 days the 140 k[illegible] separating Pama from Nungu, and foun[illegible] Bantchandé, far more disposed to treat a French Mission, as his frontiers [illegible] bands of that old enemy of [illegible] scattered troops had tak[illegible] King Bantchandé wo[illegible] Ahmadou out of Nio[illegible] Southern Soudan.

Meantime Lieut. Jo[illegible] Infantry, as foreseen l[illegible] way of Boti, long bef[illegible] get there, (distributing [illegible] had taken possession [illegible] name of the Germa[illegible]

previously concluded by Col. Monteil with the powerful ruler of this metropolis and trade mart. After effecting a junction with his comrade, Lieut. Vargoz, who was at Kodjar, this officer and the escort descended the valley of the Niger and rejoined Comm. Decoeur coming up from Boussa. The Mission thus reunited followed the Niger as far as Leaba, whence it returned after a most successful journey by Nikki to Carnotville, which place was attained on 20th March. Here instructions were found from Government, recalling Comm. Decoeur to France.

V. Lieutenant Baud's Mission.

Governor Mallot now despatched Lieut. Baud, with an escort of 50 tirailleurs under Lieut. Vermeesch, to try and join hands with Col. Monteil, by turning the North limits of Togoland and the frontiers of the British Colony of the Gold Coast. Accordingly, on the 26th March, but six days after his return from Say,—M. Baud started again for the interior towards the North-West. At Kiritiri, the first commercial centre of importance, a treaty of Protectorate was concluded. The people at this place, (fearing, like of Bassila, the attacks of the savages known as affirs) who inhabit the mountainous region of the Franco-German frontier), requested that a ght be formed there. These Kaffirs go have no intercourse with their neigh- mnant of some aboriginal races the invasion of modern

eded to Bafilo, by a untains from 3,000 to 500 feet. This range, west of Kouandi and and unites with the which Lieut. Baud portant centre, with a

population of 20,000. The Chief of Bafilo not having negotiated any treaty with any European (although the German traveller Kling passed through this town when coming from Salaga), Lieut. Baud concluded a treaty of Protectorate with him. This chief, like the one at Kiritiri, requested the construction of a military post to hold in check the incursions of the Kaffirs. At the village of Dako, the Mission quitted the route formerly taken by Kling, to proceed to Sansanné-Mango across the country of the Kaffirs, a desolate country, where water is somewhat difficult to find. Here the native aborigines tried to stop the Frenchmen, who despite their demonstrations went on steadily without much trouble, for by a judicious distribution of presents the wrath of the wildest of these savages was appeased.

On the 12th of April, Lieut. Baud reached Sansanné-Mango, a centre which has several notables. There are, in fact, four:—The actual King, who reigns without governing; the Governor, or *Daoudou*, who administers the Government; the *Imam*, or religious chief who gives counsel; and Tieba, the son of the King, who has influence but no control over the other three. The inhabi
belong to the race of Agni, which inhabits the vall
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Coast; in February 1895, with the German von Karnap; and a few days after, with the French administrator, Lieut. Alby of the Haoussa tirailleurs from Dahomey. Great was their astonishment at seeing a fourth white man realise the promises of the third: they did not comprehend that any fidelity was attached to treaties.

One thing exercised their minds, "were the British white or black? for the British agent who came to them was black. They resented having been treated with less consideration by the Gold Coast authorities than by the French, who sent white men.

Lieut. Baud's mission left Sansanné-Mango on the 15th April, after halting there three days. Four guides were furnished by the *Daoudou* or Governor, who conducted them to Nalerougou, where the Frenchmen were presented to the King by the *Imam* of Gambaka, a village at some two hours' distance. They were informed that Mr. Ifergusson had not been received by this King of all the ...ampoursi, who was willing to conclude an alliance with ...rance. The Mission next proceeded to the West, and, ...the 22nd April, crossed the track of Capt. Binger at ... Oulé, whose Chief asked for news of that explorer, ...a tricolor which the latter had given him.

... the White Volta river was crossed, flowing ...ks from 20 to 30 feet high, and measur- ...breadth;—an impassable obstacle to ...Iaba, an important centre of ... on the 24th; and here, ...oursi authorities, a ... Protectorate, was ...ploring this hitherto ...f the river Poplogon ...—was surveyed, and ... in which the Red ...nined. Lieut. Baud

what he believed to

be simply a certificate of good treatment. Great was the King's astonishment on learning that this document was a treaty of commerce and friendship with Governor Maxwell of the Gold coast, engaging the King of Oua not to treat with any other European Power. This document was carried off by Lieut. Baud, the signature of the King thereon being marked by a cross and a seal stamped with the handle of an umbrella. M. Baud was enabled to contract a full and formal treaty of Protectorate with this Potentate, duly signed in Arabic by the King and countersigned by his Chiefs. This treaty appears to unite politically the territories extending along the 10th parallel of Latitude with the French Colonies of Dahomey and the Ivory Coast; thus satisfactorily terminating and cementing the missions of Governor Ballot, Commandant Decoeur and Administrator Alby. The French sphere of influenc thus united prevents any foreign intrusion from the Sout into the great bend of the Niger.

On leaving Oua, Lieut. Baud intended to join Monte column, and crossing the Black Volta, he came into t Bouna country, where Capt. Braulot, in 1893, had met w serious opposition. Lieut. Baud, however, with ar of 50 tirailleurs, could not be denied, and he rea safely, where he first heard of Monteil's re He also learnt that a European wa country who turned out to be M manding the escort of Marc at Kong. Unfortuna where his escort Bondoukou and coast, where it w Binger. Lieut. Ba coast, on the 26th he reached Grand nine months and a had included Abo Gomba Boussa, M

Oua and Nasiam, covering a track upwards of 2,250 miles, and fully accomplishing the objects of his mission.

In consequence of the frequent conflicts and disaccord between the civil administrations and the military commanders of all the French colonies throughout West Africa, M. Chautemps, the Minister for the Colonies, submitted a plan for creating a Governor General who should have under his orders all political and military matters relating to the colonies of Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast and the French Soudan. This project was approved by the Council of Ministers and carried into effect on the 16th June last, when M. Chaudié, Inspector General of 2nd Class Colonies, was appointed the first Governor General. His military colleague, Col. Boilève was at the same time gazetted as Commander in Chief of all the military forces within the above named colonies. M. Chaudié is also appointed Governor of Sénégal and his head-quarters will be at Saint Louis. How this arrangement will work it is impossible to judge at present; but it seems, at first sight, to be a step in the right direction. At all events satisfac- will be felt among all ranks in the Soudan that M. has been recalled and has returned to France.

that the slight sketch here given of the pro- arms in Western Africa may serve to ith regard to the solid foundations which are being firmly estab- by our neighbours across friendly relations if an exchange of tual satisfaction, in mplified and traced

in crawl of a signature by means of a few ts or a few yards of

diplomatists as an authentic treaty duly negotiated. Just as the chief cannot verify the powers of any casual European visitor, so also it is equally impossible for the European traveller, during his rapid transit, to discover with certainty whether the chiefs whose signatures he obtains are in reality properly qualified to barter away the dominion of the people they are supposed to represent. A concession granted to M. Verdier to exploit timber within the colony of Ivory Coast has just been quashed by M. Chautemps, the Minister of the Colonies in France. It is regrettable to find that similar concessions, conferring valuable monopolies, obtained from native Chiefs for the sole exploiting of natural products such as india-rubber, *etc.*, by irresponsible British traders, are permitted by our Government within the confines of countries submitting to British Protectorate apparently without any reserve or safeguard.

PASFIELD OLIVER.

NEWFOUNDLAND AND FRENCH FISHERY RIGHTS.

By J. P. Val d'Eremao, D.D.

"The sport of historical misfortunes."—*Lord Salisbury.*

"The history of Newfoundland is one long indictment against the Imperial Government."—*Hon. Judge W. D. Prowse.*

England, often accused of acting like a step-mother to her Colonies, has certainly merited that title from Newfoundland. Neglected in the beginning as almost undeserving of notice, impeded in her settlement to please a set of monopolists, hampered in her progress by the sacrifice of her interests to those of foreigners, and burdened by the wanton cession to France of certain rights on her coasts, she has much of which to complain and little for which to thank England. The delay in her colonization, the arrest of her progress, the small amount of her development, the keeping down of her trades and industries, and the anomalous position she holds with reference to her territory,—for all these England, and she alone is

In former times, her interests were notoriously
and venal British ministers for French
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sibility while sending a Commissioner, with a few thousand pounds to relieve immediate distress.*

If such heavy trouble can come and rest on a Colony without due steps being taken by the Imperial Government to investigate the causes from which it proceeded or to apply the remedies of which it stood in need, then all the talking and writing and posing about Imperial Federation are simply a delusion and mere words. On the 23rd August, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the Canada-Newfoundland negotiations were in abeyance, and that if the aid suggested in Mr. W. Johnston's question meant that the tax-payers of the United Kingdom should assume a portion of the public debt of Newfoundland, the present government could only return the same negative answer as the last. Thus both Liberals and Conservatives have declared that the British Tax-payer is immovably opposed to aiding a colony in distress. by assuming any monetary obligations,—a libel on th people of Great Britain, when Canada was quite willi to assume the responsibility of ⅔ of that debt, if the mothe country would assume that of the remaining third.

Newfoundland merits better treatment, for she ho peculiar position. She appeals to British sent the first-born of her long list of glorious co geographical position makes her an inv link with Canada, which is perha Britain's colonies, and with States, with whom we ca union. She is as telegraphic c Atlantic

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is only ⅛ smaller than England, is ⅓ larger than Ireland, and is twice as big as Denmark,—is capable of much greater development than it has yet attained and is rich in natural products—mines, forests, and a fertile soil, while its fisheries are notoriously extensive and profitable. Yet she has not only not been even fairly developed,—she has been systematically kept back and sacrificed at every turn by the Imperial Government. The recent crisis has, no doubt, had several causes,—among them too easy borrowing and too lavish expenditure, the hurricane of 1892 which injured its fishing fleets, and the later fire at St. John's. But underlying the whole question of her welfare are the French Fishing Rights, the bane of the Island, which paralyze all her efforts for progress and obstruct all her development.

Discovered by John Cabot in 1497, she seems to have been but little prized by England from the very first; for it was not till 1583 that Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession, in the name of Queen Elizabeth; and for the next 30 years nothing more was done. Others however, had already found out her value; and numerous vessels frequented her prolific shores during the fishing season. [illegible]577, the number of fishing vessels employed were, [illegible]150, Spanish 100, Portuguese 50 and English 50. [illegible]ds and Portuguese soon dropped off, being [illegible]ore profitable gold and silver ventures of [illegible] except for a few vessels from the [illegible]oundland fisheries were divided [illegible]glish. At first the former [illegible] the English first [illegible], Sir Walter [illegible] levelopment [illegible]pport of [illegible] by her se[illegible]es, by [illegible]bank has not[illegible]y and [illegible]le Newfound[illegible]irit of [illegible]anada held o[illegible]e, the [illegible]e prompt act[illegible]s and [illegible] resp[illegible]

In 1600, the annual value of the fisheries was stated at £100,000, giving employment to some 2,000 men and boys, in 200 vessels, which in 1615 had increased to 250. But at first those who frequented these fisheries were merely birds of passage, going and returning in due season, and not allowed to winter on the island under a penalty of £100 per man. No settlements were allowed. The first attempt at colonization made unsuccessfully in 1609, by John Gray, a Bristol merchant, was followed up by Lord Baltimore and Sir David Kirke; but the merchants of England who owned the vessels that went to Newfoundland were positively averse to such settlements, as they would naturally diminish their profits: and they were powerful. Still, a valuable situation cannot always be kept a desert; settlements arose, slowly and almost surreptitiously. Though their rights were not acknowledged nor their ventures aided, though they were left without government, protection or justice, and were subjected, from time to time, to violence by foreigners and fellow-countrymen alike, Newfoundland's settlers slowly increased till they began to take a part in the fisheries for which alone the island was then considered of any value.

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cod-fish on the coasts of the island, on payment of a 5 % duty. From this time down to August, 1895, the history of Newfoundland consists in the ever-increasing encroachments of the French, the successive timid concession by the British Government of whatever they chose to demand, and the continual sacrifice of the interests of the island.

It is most interesting to see how beautifully French ingenuity worked on English good-nature and stupidity, from this hopeful beginning. The French soon begged off the 5 % duty, and were thus put on a footing of perfect equality with our own fishermen. Then looking about for settlements, and thus practically denying the territorial rights of England, the French seized on Placentia in 1660; fortified it, and worked from it as a centre for other settlements. An English attack on it failed in 1662; and the French retaliated in 1663 by capturing St. John's and all Newfoundland, except Carbonear and Bonavista, whence they were repulsed. The peace of Ryswick (1697) absurdly restored the former condition of affairs, leaving the island divided between French and English. England was too blind to see that two nations could not possibly share the island peace-

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obstacles were invented and perpetuated, many continuing in force till 1814, and some as late as 1820. There were no magistrates, no administrative officials, no judges, no government of any kind. An Act of Parliament ordained that each year the Captain of the first vessel that arrived for the fishery should become "Admiral" for that season and Magistrate with absolute power. He allotted to each ship, as it came, its special drying-grounds, one year's occupation giving no special right for the next; and all disputes, of every nature, were decided by this "Admiral," from whose decision there was no appeal.

This happy state of things continued till 1729, when Osborne was appointed the first Governor of Newfoundland, by an Order in Council; but when he tried to assert his authority, it was discovered that one more blunder had been committed. The "Admiral," acting under an Act of Parliament, was, of course, above the Governor who could show only an Order in Council! But as we are not here concerned with the internal history of Newfoundland I shall not pursue this subject further. This much was necessary to show the state of affairs in Newfoundland and the circumstances of the Colony about the date of the Peace of Utrecht. Chaos reigned. There was no government; the number of settlers was [illegible] the island was unexplored; its west coast [illegible] be barren and devoid of riches; the [illegible] outsiders to come and fish [illegible] dents; and England at [illegible] use the island for [illegible] and to prev[illegible]

concession of any fishing or drying rights to the French, by the Board of Trade, the western merchants, all our North American colonies, all the Newfoundlanders, and every naval officer who had served on the coast. All in vain. That Treaty was ratified and France acquired a right which, though it might have perhaps done little harm when confined to its strict letter, has in the facile hands of the French, been so skilfully manipulated as to cripple the undoubtedly great resources and to paralyze the advance of Newfoundland.* "To-day we suffer," says Judge Prowse, "for the base treachery of Queen Anne's Ministry."

Treaty of Utrecht.—1713.

"*Article XIII.*—The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Great Britain, and to that end the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever other places in the said island are in the possession of the French, shall be [illegible] delivered and given up, within seven months from the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, or sooner if possible by the most Christian King to those who have a Commission from the Queen of Great Britain for that purpose. Nor shall the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said island or islands, or to any part of it or them. Moreover, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said island of Newfoundland, or to erect any building there, besides stages made of [illegible] huts necessary and usual for drying of fish, or to resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish. But it is allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and to dry them on land in no other besides that, of the said island [illegible] from the place called Cape Bonavista to [illegible] and from thence running down from [illegible] called Point Riche. But the [illegible] both in the mouth of the [illegible] shall hereafter belong [illegible] have all manner [illegible] And again [illegible] [illegible] by her [illegible] bank has not [illegible] Newfound[illegible] Canada held [illegible] prompt act[illegible] respe[illegible]